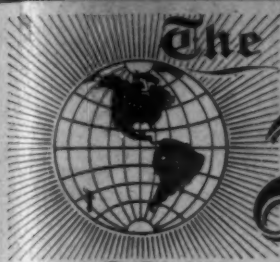


FEARLESS DISCUSSION of the TOPICS of TO-DAY



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—HEINE.

THE ARENA

VOL. XXX.

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IS THE REPUBLIC PASSING?

I. THE OVERSHADOWING QUESTION.

IS the republic passing? Is the most promising experiment in free government gradually succumbing to those subtle influences that have most frequently led to the transformation or overthrow of republics in the past? Had this question been seriously asked twenty-five years ago, probably ninety-five per cent. of the most intelligent citizens would have unhesitatingly answered in the negative, while the majority would have dismissed the query as too absurd to challenge grave consideration. Yet to-day the most thoughtful and intelligent among the true friends of republican institutions—those who still reverence the Declaration of Independence and the teachings of the founders of our government—either freely admit this to be the most serious and disquieting question of the hour, or, like the scholarly Dr. Francis Abbott, sadly maintain that the republic is a thing of the past. Nor is this all. Many of the finest scholars, the truest prophets, and even the most discerning politicians of Europe, recognize the momentous and fundamental character of the changes that have been wrought in the republic in the last three decades quite as clearly as do the most thoughtful and disinterested of our people.

II. AS OTHERS SEE US.

He who is removed from the heat of a great struggle, if he thoroughly understands the fundamental issues involved, and is acquainted with the important facts and details of the contest, is often far better qualified to justly judge of the meaning of what is taking place and the trend of certain happenings than are those who are actively participating in the occurring events; for not only has he a better vantage-ground for observation, but he is less liable to be influenced by prejudice, passion, personal feeling, or the psychic or thought waves that are in active vibration, all of which tend to blind reason and vitiate sound judgment.

With these facts in mind we invite the attention of the reader to some recently-expressed views of persons residing across the Atlantic who are thoroughly competent to judge of this grave question. The first opinion is taken from a personal letter recently received from one of the most able magazine and review essayists of the Old World. The writer is a man of mature judgment, residing in London, though spending a portion of his time in Paris and elsewhere. He is a valued and frequent contributor to leading European reviews and periodicals, while the philosophical bent of his mind, his wide knowledge of history and of events of the past fifty years, together with his passionate love of democracy, make his opinions of special value to friends of republican institutions. After discussing the fine work that a mutual literary friend is doing for the cause of free government, our correspondent writes:

"I think he realizes the dangers of the moment, but to realize the dangers and the signs of the times to the full one has, I think, to know both Europe and America intimately—the political, religious, and social signs of Paris, London, and New York. Had I not lived in Paris under Louis Napoleon, as well as under the different presidents since, I should not now be in a position to feel my way as by a thread in a dark corridor where the lamp of Liberty has gone out. What does all this display of fashion and luxury really mean? Why is Paris more frenzied and frivolous than ever before? Why is republican New York

the most pompous and imperial of cities? Why are the nobles of England becoming more democratic and the Americans more snobbish? These are rude questions, and they must be answered by Americans. Truly there is a task before someone. . . . What you have to deal with in America is snobbery. We have here in London a host of American women who have shaken the democratic dust of America off their feet forever, and who are nightly to be seen at the royal opera, their heads covered with tiaras and coronets, giving themselves all the airs and presumptions of sybaritic queens, and who think it a disgrace to talk of America. Yet their fortunes were made in the American mines and the American railroads, and without the American laborer they would this moment be living in the backwoods, on the remote plains, or on some obscure street of New York, unheard of, unobserved, and unknown. Snobbery is undermining American institutions. . . . Within a short period of twenty years your rich American snobs have made of New York, Washington, and Chicago antechambers of London and Paris. But as I said before, one must know the society of Paris and London, as well as that of New York, to really know what is going on. One must see to believe. I often sit and dream of the old American days, when democracy, sincerity, and patriotism were one; when liberty, independence, and progress were found together, and when greed and pretention were all but unknown. And as I think of the solemn hour when with bowed heads we passed by Lincoln's coffin, in the Chicago Court House, I ask myself what such scenes mean in the history of the American people. In those days there were no snobs in the sense in which we have them now, and society at Washington was simple, democratic, and natural. The city of Washington which I knew was not troubled with European airs and conventions. . . . As for American women marrying English lords, I have this to say: the women who bring their fortunes here are bringing them to bolster up a decadent world. . . . I predict an invasion of broken-down lords of all grades in the near future, until at last there will not be a fortune left in America of any considerable size that will not pass to the favor of men residing in England or on the Continent. 'Come what may,' said an Englishman to me not long ago, 'we are bound to possess the wealth of the American millionaires in the long run, through the American women.' . . . Before closing I wish to call your attention to a matter of the gravest importance. Germany and England will both put every possible effort into the balance to win over the American people

to the side of monarchical habits and institutions. The visit of Prince Henry was nothing but a ruse in this direction. The German Emperor is an arch-flatterer, but he hates democracy."

Turning from this remarkably acute observer and eminent writer to the rugged pioneer Russian author, philosopher, and reformer, Count Tolstoi, we find another keen student of modern civilization and the trend of present-day governments whose convictions are even more positive in reference to our republic than those of our correspondent from England. The great eastern iconoclast is at once a man of genius and a prophet of righteousness. As the former he views life on the colossal scale. The type, the trend of events, the dominant note—these are the things with which he is concerned. As a prophet he is bold, direct, brutally frank and extreme if you will; but his generalizations are true in essence if ultra in expression. Few men in remote regions have kept in so close touch with the heart throbs in great western nations as has Count Tolstoi. Hence his opinions, if severe, possess interest and value because they come from one thoroughly acquainted with the dominant political and social life currents and the trend of events in the republic, and also because his utterances are the opinions of a man absolutely sincere and honest, who has made himself almost as much a stone rejected by the builders, because he has insisted on taking Jesus seriously and living the Christ life, as did the founder of Christianity by his unconventional life and lofty spiritual teachings. In a remarkable interview with the distinguished journalist, James Creelman, which recently appeared in the *New York World*, Count Tolstoi said:

"America has lost her youth. Her hair is growing gray her teeth are falling out; she is becoming senile. Voltaire said that France was rotten before she was ripe, but what shall be said of a nation whose ideals have perished almost in one generation? Your Emersons, Garrisons, and Whittiers are all gone. You produce nothing but rich men. In the years before and after the Civil War the soul-life of your people flowered and bore fruit. You are pitiful materialists now."

Discerning scholars who are friends of republican institutions, and the great reformers and prophets of the Old World are by no means the only observers who have noticed the startling reactionary changes that have marked the republic during the past ten or fifteen years. Diplomats and politicians of the reactionary school have hailed with delight the apostacy of the republic—the falling away of the people from the high, fine ideals of the first century of our history. In a graphic paper by the brilliant and vigorous young author, David Graham Phillips, which recently appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*, the views of an *attaché* of one of the continental embassies at London who is a close student of political life and tendencies were given in the following language to an American friend at a social function held at Carlton House:

"You Americans are very popular here," said the diplomat.

"Yes," replied the American.

"And on the Continent also," said the diplomat.

"Yes," replied the American. "How the German Emperor does love us—he is almost as enthusiastic as King Edward."

"You are very popular," went on the diplomat, "and very unpopular. You were never so popular or so unpopular."

"You mean we are unpopular because of the American trade invasion?"

"Not at all. That is a trifling matter. It concerns only the politicians and a few manufacturers and the farmers, and the most of the farmers over here are too ignorant to know what ails them. No—let me explain. Formerly we—and when I say we, over here, I mean the upper classes, the dominating classes, those which still rule for all this talk about the progress of democracy—formerly we feared you; we pretended to despise you, but in fact we were afraid. You were the great experiment in democracy, that is in anarchy—in the rule of the masses, the mob. Your success meant serious trouble if not the handwriting on the wall for us, because our masses were always thinking of you." Here the diplomat smiled peculiarly and glanced around the room.

"Now all that has been changed," he went on: "Europe and America are better acquainted. We no longer fear you—why should we? . . . Our fears have been proved groundless, our suspicions have been justified. And so our upper class

hated you, now—well, it neither loves nor admires you, but it honors and courts you. And our masses who once looked up to you as their ideal—” He shrugged his shoulders.

“They no longer look up to us?”

“They look down upon you. They see that you, too, have your dominating upper class just as they have. And they prefer their own kind of upper class as less sordid, less vulgar, the embodiment of a more inspiring ideal. . . . They prefer their own princes to ‘bosses’ and upstart newly-rich.”

“But suppose that these Americans whom you see over here and whom you read most about are not representative?”

“But, my dear friend, they are. Your country has changed and you do not realize it. Think a moment. What sort of men did you formerly send to us as diplomats? And what sort of men do you send now? What has become of your old horror of court dress and rank and precedence which they used to exhibit? You cannot deny that your diplomats are representative. And are they not of the same class as these ladies and gentlemen about us here, so obviously delighted with themselves and their aristocratic company, with themselves because of their company?”

About ten years ago, after completing his investigations of Chicago, Mr. W. T. Stead expressed to us his amazement at the power exerted by wealth and privileged sets or special interests in the election and selection of legislators, executive officials, and especially of the judiciary; and what seemed to astonish him still more were the numerous ways in which indirect bribery was practiced and by which personal favors were gained or the ends of justice defeated. Should he visit the republic to-day and make his studies in Rhode Island, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Missouri, or any of a half dozen other states where public service corporations—especially the railroads, street car companies and public lighting monopolies—have been able to perfect their control of government through union with corrupt bosses and partizan machines, he would find that indirect bribery had given place to more barefaced and direct methods of corrupt practices. So active, indeed, have been the monopolies and trusts in the manipulation of political affairs and through the control of public opinion-forming or-

gans, that our descent has been almost incredibly rapid during the past decade. And with this vanishing of the old sturdy morality—the finely sensitive public conscience, the sturdy and rugged spirit of independence born of democracy—there has come, as we shall presently show, a rapid reaction toward the theories that have bulwarked thrones and military empires and against which the whole power of the republic, from Washington to Lincoln, was arrayed.

But before noting some typical signs of the passing of the old order to which the European critics have referred, let us turn to history, the eloquent monitor of mankind, and see the way that other republics have gone and the principal causes that led to their overthrow.

III. THE LESSONS AND WARNINGS OF HISTORY.

The republics of ancient Greece, though far from ideal democracies, were more invincible than the mightiest contemporaneous despotism so long as the sturdy spirit of freedom and the love of justice were in the ascendancy. But when wealth and corruption enervated and debased the people and the State, when contempt for the weaker allies and disregard for the poor and helpless among their own people marked the Attic republics, the glory of Greece departed never to return; and the little republics that had hurled back the might of Persia at Marathon and Salamis succumbed to the invader because of the disease that had destroyed the old-time power. Demosthenes in one of his matchless speeches disclosed the secret of the downfall of Greece in these memorable words: "What is it that has ruined Greece? Envy when a man secures a bribe; laughter if he confesses it; mercy to the convicted, and hatred of those who denounce the crime—all the usual accompaniments of corruption."

In the transformation of the old republic of Rome into a class-ruled imperial republic and its logical sequence, an absolute despotism, we have one of the most impressive lessons and warnings of history, peculiarly ominous and startling to

thoughtful friends of democratic institutions in our republic because, broadly speaking, of the repetition of historical events under our flag during the past quarter of a century. Perhaps the most concise and graphic picture of the passing away of the old Roman republic in our literature is found in Froude's brilliant work on Caesar. After noting that the Romans possessed in an eminent degree the faculty of self-government, the English historian continues:

"In virtue of their temporal freedom, they became the most powerful nation in the known world, and their liberties perished only when Rome became the mistress of *conquered races to whom she was unable or unwilling to extend her privileges*. . . . If there is one lesson which history clearly teaches, it is this: *that free nations cannot govern subject provinces*. If they are unable or unwilling to admit their dependencies to share their own constitution, the constitution itself will fall in pieces from mere incompetence for its duties."

Of the disintegrating character of that period of Roman history that witnessed the passing of the old democracy or the flight of the soul of free government from the republican shell that long cloaked despotism, Froude observes:

It was an age of material progress and material civilization; an age of pamphlets and epigrams; of salons and of dinner parties; of senatorial majorities and electoral corruption. The highest offices of state were open, in theory, to the meanest citizen; they were confined, in fact, to those who had the longest purses or the most ready use of the tongue on popular platforms. Distinction of birth had been exchanged for distinction of wealth. The struggle between plebeians and patricians for equality of privilege was over, and a new division had been formed between the party of property and a party who desired a change in the structure of society. The free cultivators were disappearing from the soil. Italy was being fast absorbed into vast estates held by a few favored families and cultivated by slaves, while the old agricultural population was driven off the land and was crowded into towns. The rich were extravagant, for life had ceased to have practical interest except for its material pleasures; the occupation of the higher classes was to obtain money without labor, and to spend it in idle enjoyment. Patriotism survived on the lips, but patriotism meant the as-

cendency of the party which would maintain the existing order of things, or would overthrow it for a more equal distribution of the good things which alone were valued.

Religion, once the foundation of the laws and rule of personal conduct, had subsided into opinion. The educated in their hearts disbelieved it. Temples were still built with increasing splendor; the established forms were scrupulously observed. Public men spoke conventionally of Providence, that they might throw on their opponents the odium of impiety; but of genuine belief that life had any serious meaning, there was none remaining beyond the circle of the silent, patient, ignorant multitude. The whole spiritual atmosphere was saturated with cant—cant political, cant religious; an affectation of high principle which had ceased to touch the conduct and flowed on in an increasing volume of insincere and unreal speech.

The republics of Italy in later days perished either through the gradual rise and entrenchment of a powerful official aristocracy, as in Venice; the stealthy advance of rich and powerful egotistic influences, which in time finally strangled free government by the subtle employment of gold and the gradual corruption of the people, as in Florence; or by the sword of force, as in Milan, where the new-born republic was destroyed by Sforza.

Of these deadly perils that ever lurk in the pathway of democracy, ready to throttle liberty if the people fail to jealously guard the ark of the covenant, the insidious influences of wealth used to corrupt government, blind the mental vision and anesthetize the conscience, has proved by far the most fatal enemy of republicanism. Usually the degenerative influence of corrupt wealth is followed by either one or both of the other destroyers of free institutions—an aristocracy of office-holders or the sword of force.

The republic of Florence, which became a victim of organized wealth, offers a peculiarly impressive warning to the United States at the present time, for in the Medicean family we find the prototype of the modern corporations. As the former silently, persistently, and effectively became all-powerful in the little Appenine republic, so the latter in a quarter of

a century have become a dominant factor in our nation. So striking are the parallels presented that we desire to call the attention of the reader to the testimony of John Addington Symonds, the most illustrious historian of the Renaissance. In speaking of Florence, he says:

"The de Medici family in effect bought and sold the honor of the public officials, lent money, jobbed posts of profit and winked at peculation, until they had created a sufficient body of men who had everything to gain by a continuance of their corrupt authority."

And the learned Professor Vallari, in describing the overthrow of the republic of Florence by the Medicean family, speaks of "the subtle policy that was persistently pursued from generation to generation," and shows how Giovanni de Medici apparently "took little part in political affairs, but realized an immense fortune by establishing banks in Italy and abroad, which in his successor's hands (Cosimo de Medici) became the most efficient engine of political power."

In referring to Cosimo de Medici this author says:

"He succeeded in solving the strange problem of becoming absolute ruler of a republic that was keenly jealous of its liberty, without holding any fixed office, without suppressing any previous form of government, and always preserving the appearance and form of a private citizen. . . . He was generous in lending and even giving money whenever he could gain popularity by that means. At critical moments he frequently came to the succor of the government itself. He was very dexterous in turning his private liberality to account for the increase of his political privileges, and showed no less acumen and far fewer scruples in making use of his political prestige for pecuniary profit. Indeed, whenever his own interests were at stake he showed himself capable of political villainy, although this was always tempered by calculation. . . . He had comprehended that the art of politics depended rather upon individuals than institutions, and that he who ruled men could also dictate laws."

When Lorenzo de Medici assumed the position of head of his family, on the death of Cosimo, his father, the old-time republic was corrupted and bereft of its high ideals. In speak-

ing of the condition of affairs when this greatest of the de Medicis became "complete master of Florence," Professor Val-lari continues:

"Florence was still *called* a republic; the old institutions were still preserved, if only in name. Lorenzo was absolute lord of all and virtually a tyrant. . . . The more oppressive his government, the more did he seek to incite the public to festivities, and lull it to slumber by sensual enjoyment. His immorality was scandalous. He kept an army of spies and meddled with the citizens' most private affairs."

No thoughtful American who has closely followed our own history during the last quarter of a century, and especially during the past decade can escape experiencing the gravest solicitude for what has long been considered the greatest and most promising experiment in democracy.

We are repeating the fatal mistakes of the past.

IV. OUR REPUBLIC TO-DAY.

We are treading the same pathway trod by the City of the Violet Crown, the City of the Seven Hills, and the Mistress of the Arno. Witness the scandal after scandal in the election of United States Senators, from the days when the Standard Oil magnate, Henry B. Payne, scandalized the State of Ohio and was circumstantially denounced by his own party press as well as by that of the opposition as having obtained his seat in the Senate as the fruit of wholesale bribery, down to the odious and scandalous revelations which accompanied the election of Senator Marcus A. Hanna to the same seat; from the notorious scandal created by the election of the millionaire and alleged democrat, Senator Clark of Montana, to the high-handed attempt of the republican corporation magnate, Addicks, to capture Delaware. On every hand the air has been tainted with scandals. The United States Senate to-day is largely composed of men of three classes, namely, representatives of great wealth which is largely the result of special privilege; the political boss who as master of the partizan machine rules with the

power of a despot; and the attorneys or mouth-pieces of predatory wealth or the trusts and corporations. The term, "The Rich Man's Club," as so frequently applied to the Senate, is no misnomer. The Senate to-day resembles in a startling manner the senate of ancient Rome described so graphically by Froude.

Again, as the Roman republic passed into eclipse when the nation became, to use the language of the great English historian, "the mistress of conquered races to whom she was unable or unwilling to extend her privileges," so we also are repeating almost literally this fatal mistake. Are we so blinded by the materialism of the market, so crazed by the madness for gain, that we refuse to seriously heed the great lesson which Froude observes history most clearly teaches—that "free nations cannot govern subject provinces. If they are unable or unwilling to admit their dependencies to share their own constitution, the constitution itself will fall in pieces from mere incompetence for its duties?"

When the publication and circulation of the Declaration of Independence is branded as treason under the flag of the United States, is it not time that every friend of democracy in the republic shakes off the deadly lethargy and recognizes the fact that we are to-day on the brink of the same chasm that proved the grave of all that was fundamental and of worth in the republic of ancient Rome? As the republic of Florence became enslaved through the poison of corruption subtly injected into the arteries of public life, so history is again repeating itself, as is amply shown by the recent revelations of national, state and municipal corruption; in the army, the Department of State, that of the Post Office and the Department of Public Lands; in the state governments of Missouri, Delaware, Rhode Island, and other commonwealths; and in almost all the great American municipalities. Everywhere we find the deadly poison springing primarily from lust for gold and due to the capture of political bosses and partizan machines by corporate and predatory wealth. Just as Florence was enslaved and the republic overthrown through corrupt practises

emanating from great wealth craftily employed with the double aim of securing power and a still greater return of wealth than that employed to compass the end, so the great public service corporations and monopolies, the creatures of privilege, and the over-rich beneficiaries of predatory wealth for over a quarter of a century have been repeating the tactics of the de Medici family only it has been on a far more gigantic scale—a scale as much greater as have been the interests more multitudinous and the nation greater than that of the Appenine republic.

Nor are these the only startling illustrations of the decadence of free institutions. They have been accompanied by other signs, quite as ominous and which have been more or less in evidence in the old republics as they passed into eclipse, and all of which are as fundamentally inimical to the genius and spirit of pure democracy as they are in harmony with the ideals and traditions of monarchies or despotisms of various kinds:

(1) The thoroughly unrepublican Military Bill, moulded so largely after the ideal of despotic Germany, which was enacted and signed last winter; (2) the amazing bureaucratic aggressions of recent years, such as found typical expression in the lawless acts of Mr. Edwin C. Madden, with the sanction of his superiors, in which the Post Office department has not only systematically ruled in such a way as to make glad the hearts of the great express companies, but has actually arrogated the law-making and judicial functions instead of confining the department to its proper executive work;* (3) the

*Strange and almost incredible as it may seem, the Post Office Department has made rulings to compass what the Department has publicly admitted that Congress *refused to enact* into statutes at its request. It has gone further than this: It has arrogated functions that are only proper to the judiciary, as when on *ex parti* evidence it has branded citizens as criminals and has refused them all privileges of the mails, destroying their business and rendering it impossible for them to properly present their case before the judiciary, all prior to the accused having been permitted a judicial hearing. This stepping beyond the legitimate function of its proper sphere—that of an executive office, and assuming the rights of the law-making and judicial bodies of government, is thoroughly bureaucratic, despotic, unjust, and in as perfect accord with the spirit of the Russian government as it is inimical to the genius of republicanism.

concentrating of all but supreme power in the hands of the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Rules, by which the popular branch of government has ceased to be what the House of Commons of England is—the greatest deliberative body in the nation, and has degenerated into a body which records the will or the supposed will of the dominant party as the Speaker and a small coterie of favored representatives interpret it, and without that full, free, and thorough discussion of great problems that is vital to the health and even the life of republican institutions; (4) the rapid increase in numbers of United States Senators who are either notorious partizan bosses, conspicuous beneficiaries of special privilege and monopoly, or the friends and whilom attorneys of great corporations and of predatory wealth; (5) the appointment to seats in the Supreme Court of lawyers who in a large majority of instances have long been retained by corporate interests, trusts and monopolies, and who, however honorable and pure their intentions may be, have nevertheless been so accustomed to look at all contests between the nation and the corporations, or the people and the trusts and monopolies, through the spectacles of corporate interests that their bent of mind, prejudice, and bias lean as naturally to the side of corporate wealth as did the opinions of the royal councillors of King Charles I. lean to the theory of the divine right of kings and other theories inimical to the interests of the people; (6) the successive appointment for the past twelve years of great trust lawyers and attorneys for railroads and corporate interests to the extremely important position of Attorney-General of the United States; (7) the eager attempt to ape monarchical and reactionary governments in diplomatic services and matters, and (8) the whole reversal of the fundamental theory of the inalienable right of a people to enjoy the blessings of free government; are among the certain, obvious and ominous signs of the passing of the old order no less than are the growth of snobbery and the tendency among the rich to imitate the manners, customs, and acts of foreign aristocracies and titled classes, and the still more appalling spectacle of that most abhorrent of all forms

of prostitution, in which the daughters of parvenu multimillionaires sell themselves for coronets to broken-down debauchees from whom these same girls would shrink in loathing if the suitors for their hands were poor Americans with such notorious records of infamous licentiousness and excesses as is the odious distinction of many of those who have recently wedded American heiresses.

The exaltation of wealth above merit, the deification of material success, and the ignoring of the basic principles of democratic institutions—of right, of justice and of freedom, when they run counter to the interests of wealth, social station, or political power, are other striking signs which portend the flight of the soul of democracy from the shell that long tabernacled the most full-orbed, aggressive and vigorous experiment in free government that civilization has ever known—a flight which will surely take place unless the people be speedily aroused so that a counter movement shall check the strong reactionary forces now in full play.

V. OUR GROUNDS FOR FAITH IN ULTIMATE VICTORY.

Do we despair of the republic? By no means. If the outlook was hopeless, this discussion would be useless as well as thankless. It is because we believe that there is strong and well-grounded reason for faith in a progressive reaction that we insist that a supreme duty devolves upon statesmanship, patriotism, and manhood—a duty as august and imperative as ever confronted man or nation, and that is the fearless unmasking of every reactionary and undemocratic action and tendency, and of bold and aggressive agitation to arouse the conscience and reason of the masses and to secure at the earliest possible moment the re-establishment of the old ideals that were the soul of the republic for almost a century after its birth and which made it the greatest moral world-power of civilization.

The reason for this confidence is based chiefly on these facts: (1) the wide diffusion of knowledge or the general education

of the masses; (2) the character of the Anglo-Saxon people, and (3) the presence of simple, practical, and not untried measures which are at once a logical extension of the principles of democracy and which in operation would prove effective in meeting changed conditions and overcoming the rising tide of class rulership or plutocracy.

(1) The education of the people: Our people are more generally educated than the masses of any land, and the education they have received has made them measurably susceptible to dispassionate argument or pure reason. This was not the case in any ancient republic or old-time experiment in free government. In Greece, Rome, and mediæval Italy—in all the old-time democracies, the masses were ignorant and the easy prey of masterful and unscrupulous minds. Then also in other days a large proportion of the people had little voice in government. Forcible revolutions afforded the only hope of radical reforms in most instances. With us it is different. An aroused people have it in their power to immediately inaugurate changes that will destroy the sources of corruption and check the evil tendencies.

(2) The influence of reason and ethical consideration on the Anglo-Saxon mind: the Anglo-Saxon is far less a creature of blind prejudice or insane emotionalism than most other peoples. He will bear much and suffer long. He has his periods of moral and mental lethargy, but when once aroused he becomes the invincible master. This has been illustrated time and again in the history of England and America. The supreme need of the hour is the moral and mental awakening of the people. The public conscience has been drugged by an egotistic or positivistic reaction that has placed the master emphasis upon the acquisition of money. The brain of the people has become so hypnotized by the droning of such words as "prosperity," "success" and "power" that it has largely ceased to hear and note those spiritual and ethical demands which are to permanent greatness or enduring civilization what oxygen is to the physical life. The people have lost sight of the fact that there can be no enduring prosperity where material

considerations are placed before moral demands; no lasting success where gold and expediency are enthroned on the seats reserved to justice and freedom; no true power that is not rooted and grounded in that righteousness that exalts a nation. Our present condition resembles in many respects that of England under King John, prior to the wresting of the Magna Charta from that despotic monarch, or under Charles I., before Eliot, Pym, and Hampden blazed the path of freedom, or under the last of the Georges, when monarchy and aristocracy banded together to stop the sweep of democratic tendencies just prior to the great Reform Bill agitation which marked the passing of personal government and the establishment of constitutional rule, with the democratic spirit present in a larger degree than in any other monarchy in the world. In all cases in the history of England and America, when the people became apathetic, class interests became aggressive, but when the masses were once aroused they proved invincible.

(3) Practical and effective measures that can easily be introduced when the people are aroused: (a) The fountain-head of evil is found in the defeat of the will of the people through the influence of classes and interests seeking privilege and advantage. Every step away from the full, free recognition of the great principles that differentiate a republic from a class-ruled land, every attempt to place considerations based on privilege and interest before those which comprehend a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people, has carried the nation away from her old moorings and toward the reactionary governments of the Old World. In a republic the people are the seat of law and power, and the first and most imperative step is to extend the practical workings of government so that the republican ideal shall come into fuller operation, to the end that changed conditions will be met in an adequate manner. Such an effective remedy is found in Majority Rule, or Direct Legislation through the Initiative and Referendum.

(b) But it is also important for the best interests of progressive civilization and the further expression of the repub-

lican ideal that minority parties shall have a full and free voice in the halls of government, and this demand is practically met by Proportional Representation.

(c) The chief agencies of corruption, bribery, and debauchery of the legislative, executive and judicial departments of government, as has been shown time and again, are found in the public service corporations which operate natural monopolies or those utilities in which all the people are interested. To destroy this fountain-head of political corruption and to give to all the people all the benefits flowing from the operation of public utilities or natural monopolies, the city, state and nation, or the people, should own and operate them for the good of the community at large.

(d) The appointed judiciary is becoming more and more reactionary. Perhaps it is natural that the interests of property rather than the interests of the people should concern men who have long been in the employment of trusts and monopolies, and whose appointment has been, to say the least, especially gratifying to corporate interests. But the people, not the corporations, must be the power to which the law-making, the executive, and the judicial branches of government must look unless the United States is to be a government of corporations for the exploitation of the masses, under the rule of classes. Hence the judiciary should be elected and not appointed, as has been so ably pointed out by Chief Justice Walter Clark, of North Carolina.

(e) Finally, the United States Senate must cease to be the rendezvous and asylum for political bosses and the creatures of corporate wealth. It must conform to the democratic ideal by the members being selected by the electorate instead of by the corporations through the control of political machines and the debauchery of legislators.

These are simple measures, perfectly in alignment with the spirit and genius of republican government; and though they will be fought by all venal politicians and corrupt bosses, by corporate wealth and all interests that are reactionary and inimical to republican institutions, they will more and more ap-

peal to intelligent and patriotic Americans who are at heart the friends of democratic institutions.

The republic is in the balance. No more critical hour has been passed in her history than that which is striking to-day. It is a time for patriotism to reach the heights of self-sacrifice and for manhood to flower in the glory of its divine potency, as it has flowered in every crucial moment in the world's history. Happy the statesmanship and the conscience-guided manhood that responds to the august demands of the hour.

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THE THOUGHT SIDE OF THE SOCIAL ORDER.

THERE is no way to prove that we are, or that the world is. Nor is it possible to doubt or deny these facts of primary knowledge. The affirmations of consciousness are—must be, final.

Certain forms of truth are called "necessary;" such as the relation of numbers and forms in mathematics, and the laws of thought in logic. They are one way because it is not thinkable that they could be any other way. On the things where it is not possible to differ, all minds are agreed.

But beyond the primary and the necessary are the larger fields of the contingent. Man is, but what is he? The world is, but what is it? These are the ever-present but never finished tasks of philosophy and science, and here have been and are the questions of debate.

It is one thing, and no easy matter, to know what has been thought to be true; it may be quite another to know what is true. Truth is; our thinking does not make it so, nor can denying take it away. The mind may perceive and know; it cannot create.

To thought the unthinkable is the impossible; hence, the necessary truths. The true is, must be, thinkable; but it does not follow that the thinkable is or must be true. The mere fact of the thinkableness of a thing is not even a criterion, much less a guaranty of its truthfulness.

It was thinkable, and long thought, that the earth was flat, and that the sun moved; but reason came to the aid of the senses and corrected the errors of the apparent. It is thinkable now, and hence, no one can positively deny that the sun and the moon stood still; but with the present knowledge of the order of the heavens, it is so improbable that not many can accept such a statement as literally true.

Beyond the necessary relations of premise and predicate, the laws of thought can be of little, if any, help in determining the

facts in the world of the real. The false may be just as logical as the true. The essential thing, and the greatest need of our world, is the assured truth of major and minor premises; with these the conclusions are easily reached.

It is thinkable that man is wholly a material existence; that there is no such thing as mind as an entity, having its own and essential constitution and laws; that all knowledge begins and ends with the senses; that thought is a brain secretion through molecular action.

And certainly not less thinkable that man is more than material; that he has not only a sense existence, but has being; is at center a spirit, is in kind like God, but less in degree, and is related to the eternal order of the good, and may will the will and live the life of the infinite reason, justice, and love.

It is a satisfaction to understand the forms and motions of the earth and the planets, and their relations to the sun, but without such knowledge it was long possible to sow and reap; and there are speculative questions that have little, if any, bearing upon character and conduct. But when we come to the pivotal points of the essential nature of man, questions of the soul and God that touch the very centers of life and being, and upon which schools and systems of philosophy and religion must stand or fall, then it is vastly important that we see things as they are in the world of the real. Our thinking does not—can not, change the realities of the real; but it does determine our practical working, living attitude. If we think of ourselves and others as having only a sense existence conditioned in the material, that will be our world, and in it must be found the meanings, the motivities, and the ideals of life. If we think of ourselves and others as having not only a sense existence in the world of material properties, but as having being in the higher world of rational and moral principles and qualities, the meanings of life are almost measurelessly enlarged, and its motivities and ideals transcendently ennobled and exalted.

Sincerity and good intentions have—must have—high place and value in character, but they are not in themselves safe guides. Reason must go before to light the way. As the false

may be just as logical in form as the true, so may the wrong be not less sincere than the right. Not all of those who bound martyrs to the stakes and kindled the fires about their feet were bad or cruel men; many were sincere and kind, and acted from a sense of painful duty; duty to what they believed to be true and right. They did not know. "Had the princes of this world known, they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory."

It does make a great difference what we think and believe. Our thought-world is to us the real world. "As a man thinketh, so is he." As the social order thinks, so it is. Right thinking and right living go together. There is a material or sense side of life; there is a rational and moral side, and the supernal or spiritual side. Each has its place and value, and only as there is the proper emphasis of each, and the whole being moves together upon its lower and higher planes as one life, are the noblest results possible.

Looking out upon these great but troubled years and feeling the unrest, the attritions, the wrongs and sufferings, the hopes and fears of the social order, we should study anew, and more closely, the thought side; the thinking that lies back of and gives shaping to the strange and wonderful life we are living. In this way we may be able to reach and deal with the causes rather than the effects. When the thinking is right, the world will not be wrong.

For two thousand years the philosophy of Aristotle was hardly questioned in all Europe. Recognizing less clearly than did his master, Plato, the spirit side and source of the universe, his vision was largely that of the sense understanding, and rested mainly upon the fields of natural science and political ethics. He had no lofty conception of man and the social order. To his thought there was no such thing as the equality of human rights; some were born to rule, others to serve. Slavery was the order of nature, a right of property, and the most valuable of all property was the man, the slave.

Individualism had little place in the theories of this thinker; the state was all; children should be raised for the state and by

the state; the number of births should be regulated; infanticide was forbidden, but abortion permitted; the weak and deformed should be destroyed. In government, monarchy was the highest and best; next came Aristocracy; last and least was democracy; and such in general were the teachings of Plato.

It is easy to see how such thinking gave shaping and support to the royalty and despotism, and the hierarchy and servile submission to the claims of ecclesiocracy in the dark and middle ages. What the social order thought, it was; and would have continued to be but for the change that came on the thought side.

Whether we can explain it or not, it is a fact, that in the long run the wrong and the false are self-undoing. Somehow there is the self-rejuvenescency and ever-becoming of the true and the good.

Hence, the renaissance, the new and larger forms of learning and liberty, the outbursts of individualism and the reactions against the old scholasticism, ecclesiasticism, and despotism.

All these were distinctly on the thought side of the Social Order, and from the inner or subjective came the wonderful changes in the objective shapings of science, industry, government, and religion. And having continuously to deal with the large facts and questions of cosmology, or world; psychology, or self; sociology, or relations; ontology, or being; theology, or God; it should not be thought strange that these have moved along in seemingly separate columns and uneven space, sometimes one or more rushing forward; others falling back.

The inductive philosophy of Bacon, turning from the speculative to the practical, went forth over the ready and natural paths of observation and experience to find and verify the facts of the material. It was distinctively an outer movement of sense preception and reason in the world of physical properties and laws, and hence, wholly different from the subjective studies in which the objective is shut out, and the mind turned in upon itself.

This change in the field and results of thought, from scholastic speculations to scientific realities was very great; nor less

the gladness, the satisfaction. It enlarged the boundaries of knowledge, and by the mastery of material forces augmented a hundredfold the power to do; and thus gave man a new world and life. But all this was on the physical plane of existence, and hence emphasized and exalted the power and value of the sense understanding, and in so far tended to push aside or cloud the vision of the intuitive and spiritual. In its near and realistic forms and appeals it rose up and almost filled the whole sky; and such a movement once well under way was, and is, beyond recall. More than is realized this exaggerated sense side of existence and thought holds and dominates the intense, the toiling, and often demoralized life of these strange years.

The material world and the physical existence of man, and the sense side of knowing are unquestionable facts of consciousness; hence, not debatable. But are these all the facts of consciousness? Or, is there not also a spiritual consciousness of being, of moral qualities; a something more and higher than physical existence? And are there not truths intuitively known; truths that transcend the plane of sense knowledge? Here has been and is the battle-ground of philosophy.

The inductive method is to first find the assured facts; discriminated from this is the deductive or syllogistic method of assuming facts, and hence reasoning from unverified premises, may logically reach false conclusions. This was the weakness, the vice of the scholastic ages from which the modern world turned away to welcome the surer method of the inductive.

As a method, the inductive philosophy is not by any means limited to the material sciences in which the results have been so marvelous. The principle is universal; was so conceived in the great scheme of Bacon; it applies alike to the physical and the metaphysical.

Rene Des Cartes, following Bacon, was the first to boldly carry the inductive method into philosophy, and to carry philosophy into its own and only proper field of consciousness. And here questioning and ready to deny all he had ever thought to be true, he found the undeniable, "I think, therefore I am."

This was not an assumption, consciousness does not assume, it affirms; he was not looking out through the senses at the world of things but standing in the world of thought back of things; and hence said—had to say; "I am; I, not as a body, a physical existence, but I the thinker, am." And then from the conception of the perfect he reasoned his way to the affirmation of God as the source of the conception. The conclusions may be a fact, but coming as the result of a process, should be discriminated from the positive affirmations of consciousness. But the inductive method had been accepted, and philosophy carried into consciousness from cosmology, or world, to ontology, or being.

After Des Cartes came Spinoza, the learned and noble Jew, to whose vision the Divine was so all-inclusive as to leave little if any room for anything else. As a mathematician he rigidly adhered to the axiomatic process, not realizing that ontology transcends cosmology; is qualitative; that being is life, is love, and that only in being can being be known.

Then came Mabbbranche so emphasizing in another way the idea of the Infinite as to have no place for the finite. God is so the all; "the place of spirits;" that in seeing things—the world—we see only God. Such is the tendency to extreme; that going out into the world of sense it may so fill the vision as to obscure the spiritual; or, turning within, the world of mind, of being, may lose sight of the world of things.

With Leibnitz came the more evenly balanced vision and judgment that could see and properly place and estimate the facts of both existence and being. The material world and laws are facts; sense observation and experience are facts. Beyond these are the laws of mind and the necessary truths grounded in the constitution of the soul, and not dependent upon the experiences of the senses.

But now two other thinkers appear in the field. Hobbs, claiming sense experience as the source of all knowledge, and that as by sensation only the material can be known, the material is the only knowable reality. And Locke, holding the sense view of knowledge, claiming there could be nothing in

the understanding that was not first in the senses. And, further, that in knowing, not things, but only the impressions of things can be known. That is, we can know only through the senses, and this being only a sense impression, we cannot know that there is any real world outside of sensation.

When Bishop Buckley and Hume, seeing the open door to doubt and denial, said, suppose we deny that there is any world; England halted on the verge of sensational nihilism, but such minds as Hartley and Priestley, and Condilac of France, went forward to positive materialism, and we have to say that in a modified sense, Mill and Huxley and Spencer stand on the material side; while with such writers as Voght, Buchner, and Maudsley, there is no such thing as mind as an entity.

In Germany the Ideal or Transcendental philosophy ran forward. Kant affirmed the intuitions of reason, and the validity and imperativeness of the moral consciousness. In Scotland, Reid and Stewart stood for the philosophy of "Common Sense;" and later Sir William Hamilton made clear the truths of natural realism. Supplementing all these are the able works of Dr. McCosh on the "Intuitions of the Mind," and "The Seat of Authority in Religion," by Dr. Martineau.

There are then these two and radically differing schools of philosophy—the sensational and the ideal—or the material and the spiritual. But it may be asked, what has all this to do with the social order? Everything. And for the reason, that it has to do with the essential nature of man. Is he, and has he, only a sense existence and life as a physical organism in the world of the material; or is he, and has he, a spiritual being and life in the eternal principles and qualities of the true and the good?

The answer to these questions and the conclusions reached will determine the theories and motives of conduct and the character of social institutions. Not one in a thousand—or ten thousand—may study and weigh the systems of thought, but the conclusions of the thinkers are accepted and the masses follow the leaders.

Things are so related and the mind so naturally logical that one fundamental proposition leads on to another; hence, sensationalism in philosophy becomes utilitarianism in ethics. The sense conception of existence finds its corollary in pleasure as the rational explanation and end of life. If thought be only a higher form of sensation, there is—can be—no such thing as a moral principle; good and evil are simply questions of pleasure and pain. These are the logical deductions from Hobbs and Locke, and thus the whole utilitarian school. Morality is prescriptive, not essential; things are right or wrong because the law says so; and carried higher, because God so wills—declares.

Radically, irreconcilably different from such theories and conclusions is the intuitionist philosophy that sees man at center as Divine, and finds in consciousness the high moral sense and imperativeness of the right as an eternal principle. God wills the right because it is right. God is himself the right, the good. As Cousin says—"The Principle of Principles," God is love; *agapio*; goodness in action.

The sense existence of man in a material world is a fact; the noetic, the constructive and acquisitive powers of the sense understanding are large and valuable. The weakness, the limitation of sensationalism is in shutting off the higher vision of the supernal. Man should live in all the wide ranges and transcendent possibilities of both existence and being.

Utility has, must have, a large place in life; the useful and the good are closely related; pleasure has its place and value, is better than pain, and plenty is better than poverty. The vice of Utilitarianism is that it makes pleasure the criterion of the good, and the sole end and aim of life, and self the all. There is no place for the right as a principle; nor for the love of moral qualities, as such; *the sense philosophy that denies mind as an entity has nothing in which a principle can inhere.* Hence, at best and most, utilitarian morality is and can be nothing more than a refined expediency.

And there is a place and value in the order of things for the expedient as there is for the useful. The tolerance of evil and progress through compromise may be and often are ex-

pedient in the becoming of the good; but that is not to put sense pleasures in the place of moral principles. Utilitarian expediency may and often does choose the higher pleasures of culture, of purity, honesty, and altruism, not because these are essentially right, and carnal abuses, dishonesty and selfishness wrong, or the one more noble than the other; but that the higher seems safer, and upon the whole promises larger and more satisfactory returns.

Such a theory is wholly selfish and really leaves no place for the great virtues, but people are often better than theories—good in spite of them; hence, from the utilitarian school have come forth many beautiful lives, just as in all religions are found souls devotedly pious. But a system not grounded in the essential principles of the good is certainly not the best to safe-guard the highest interests of the social order; it leaves open the easy paths to the lower—has no higher self to put over against the lower; nor has it the all-commanding imperative of the right.

Upon the basis of the sensational and utilitarian philosophy and ethics, may be projected a corresponding civilization of mighty industries, a government with powerful army and navy, and a religion of external forms and authority; but a material civilization can never rise to the nobler qualities of the morally sublime. To reach the heights, must be called forth, not alone the sense understanding and pleasures, but the intuitional, the spiritual powers and possibilities of knowing, doing, and being. And in this the whole great and multiform nature of man should work together as one; the feet and the face are parts of the one body, as are the sense understanding, the higher reason, and the subliminal vision parts of the one mind. It is only in their related uses that the largest results are possible. To live only on the sense, or the supernal side, is to live only a half life, and that half on the balance line between, and tending to the extremes of both sides.

From the *sensationalism of Locke* in England the way was easy to *materialism in philosophy*, and *utilitarianism in ethics*; and in Germany the Transcendentalism of Kant opened the way

for the egoism of Fichtit and Schelling, and the attendant subtle idealism of Hegel. And in both these extremes there may be and is a truth; at one point there is only matter and sensation; at the other only mind, thought; but in the wonderful nature and life of man these are found together in the lower and higher facts of existence and being; and in doing and becoming all the facts should be taken into account, and the emphasis on each properly placed. Whole thinking means whole living.

The amazing progress in science, invention, and the mastery of natural forces, has accentuated the facts and values of the material side of existence; and in this all should rejoice for it means the possibility and promise of a larger and better life for the millions who toil under the burdens of ignorance and poverty. But all this is possible because there is an established order of nature, and we are learning to work with that order; and it is not less certain that there is a higher moral order of the good; and that only in obedience to and working with this order are the nobler ends of being possible. Hence, the changed condition and augmentations of the material call for larger visions and accessions of the spiritual.

This tremendous fact of physical power, so long seemingly withheld from our world, enters into and affects all the relations of life, domestic, political, and religious. It lies back of the concentrations of labor and capital, and the vast wealth-producing possibilities of machinery; these changed conditions call for larger study and interpretations of liberty, of the rights of man, and the social justice. And this at bottom means—must mean—a profounder understanding of what man in his essential nature is. If only a creature of sense with pleasure as the only end, then there is no such thing as moral principle or responsibility; the survival of the strongest is the only law, and expediency, balancing the risks and costs of pleasure or possible pain, the only thing to be considered. The power to do carries the right to do. If an Alexander can conquer a world, or the Cæsars compel universal Empire, or a Napoleon overrun Europe, the doing is its own justification; might is the only right. But if man is at center a Divine being, the

child of God, and all men are brothers, then must the right be supreme. The power of volitional or self-determining beings to do, may make possible the wrong; but it cannot make the wrong right, nor escape the law of moral sequence.

The world is growing better; the general intelligence, the power to do, and the increase of wealth and comforts were never so great as in these wonderful years; and all this from a larger understanding and use of natural laws. But just above and related to this material order is the higher moral order, and from the overbalanced emphasis of the sense side of existence there is danger of under-rating the spiritual by which alone the uses of the physical can be controlled and carried up to the nobler life of being. It is only in harmony with both natural and spiritual laws that a civilization can be materially great and morally grand.

There need be no fears that the mighty material forces now in the foreground of thought and action, will fall behind. The sense life is always near and insistent; the greed of gain and the pride of power are insatiable. Our civilization trembles on the heights of material greatness, and with new inventions and added forces we will go on building higher our modern Babel of earthly security, and larger our palaces and gardens of worldly pleasures.

Against the extravagances of wealth and luxury, and the abuses of power, the sensational philosophy and the utilitarian ethics can offer no effective protest; can lift up no Sinai with the everlasting "Yea and Nay" of righteousness. Utility and expediency are the only criterion of right, and pleasure the motive and end. Great Britain can crush the little republics of Africa; our own land of the free can force its power and rule upon the far off Philippine Islands, and the trusts can own the coal mines, control the railways, carry elections, and put the ugly hand of money upon the mouth of the pulpit and it is all a matter of expediency, of calculating the costs, the losses or gains of power and pleasure. And the strangest, saddest, not to say the hypocrisy, of it all is, that professedly Christian peoples whose highest ideal is "The Man of Sor-

rows," can say and do these things in the name of the Christ. Many in our day fear that the public conscience has been strained, the vision of the higher clouded, and the Holy Spirit of truth and right grieved.

These are strange portentous years of universal unrest, of tension and expectancy, of world-struggle for material gains and supremacy. We should all be optimists; but that does not mean obliviousness nor indifference to facts and conditions as they are. In all this fierce struggle there is increasing social and political corruption; race and religious prejudices and hatreds are reviving in the worst forms; there is a growing disrespect for the sacredness of law and life; more murders and lynchings; and the great nations of the earth stand in a kind of balanced antagonism, and with larger armies and navies than ever before. And naturally there is increased activity along the lines of education, morality, and religion, but the education is mainly secular, the morality largely a refined expediency, and religion—sad to say it—too much a competitive denominational struggle for wealth, external display, popularity, appealing to the senses rather than the soul and righteousness.

All this may look discouraging, but it is as good, certainly not worse, than should be expected from a civilization projected so largely from the sense side of existence; and from that side we can hope for little that is better. Speaking of collectivism, world-coöperation, or socialism, Herbert Spencer says it is biologically fatal—the stronger giving to the weaker would lower the life of all—and psychologically absurd; for there is no ground for thinking that the selfish nature of man will ever change; strong peoples will go on conquering the weaker; and the world will applaud the heroism and butchery of war. And that is true, if there be nothing more and higher in man than existence and pleasure. We should be optimists because of the more that is in man, and in man because it is in the moral constitution of the universe; is in God—is God; is goodness in action.

We should not look upon evil as in any sense an entity; a something that has or can have self-existence. There can be

nothing wholly ungood; evil is the negative side; an incident in the evolution of the good; the error, the wrong choosing of minds conditioned in the freedom that is essential to virtue. As such, wrong is, in a measure, self-correcting; and in the end, self-negating. Sin is its own punishment; virtue its own reward. Only the good can be eternal. Hence, a civilization projected upon the basis of wars, of conquest, must in the end work its own undoing; that has been the history of kingdoms and empires from Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, and the empires of Alexander the Great and the Cæsars; and for our modern nations to go on enlarging their armies and navies and conquering the weaker is to travel on the same road, and to reach the same end. The earth is a vast tomb of buried civilizations. The Twentieth Century should plan for peace.

But the good is conserved and carried forward in the deathless time—Spirit; and hence, the world grows better. Beauty could not die with Greece, nor law with Rome; the Jews lost their Holy Land and City, but they did not lose the God-consciousness that made them immortal.

The tremendous material forces and activities of our time are educational along certain lines, and conditioned in and working with the material order, the perceptive reason is self-correcting. But whether man would have it so or not, it is a fact in his own nature and the constitution of things that there is a moral order working in and with the material. It is not possible to put away the fact of the related life of mankind; and from these arise the related facts of the great virtues of truthfulness, justice, and the law and life of love. From right or wrong relations come harmony or discord. Unsocial conduct is sin; right social living is righteousness, it is moral qualities in action. It is from the wrong relations in thinking, feeling, and doing that the social order has so long suffered.

A measure of relief, of self-regulation may be possible from the lower motives of selfish gain and pleasures, but the social order can never regenerate itself, nor be regenerated and characterized in the good from the sense side of existence and ethical expediency alone. There must be the higher intuitions and

inspirations of the moral and spiritual in man, and the profound conviction of the right, of duty, and of responsibility. And these, not as theories only, but as the positive and final affirmations of the rational and moral consciousness. And that means the revelation of God in the reason and conscience of man. And on its own plane this is just as natural as in the lower sense-consciousness. It is supernatural only in the sense that it is the higher natural. The spiritual consciousness is a part of the Divine nature of man as the Child of God; it is a germinal potentiality to be called forth, as is the sense of beauty or harmony.

The plain truth is that the lives given to the intoxications of gain and pleasure and the pride of power do not desire the spiritual; it costs too much on the sense side of existence. That "the carnal mind is not subject to the law of God; nor, indeed, can be," is a truth beyond the books; it is a fact in the world of things.

And it is precisely at this point that the long world-struggle has been and must be, for while we may discriminate between, it is not possible to separate existence from being in the one life of man. The abstract may be thinkable, but in their uses the virtues must be concrete and active in the relations of the social order. Civilization is a process of becoming, and not alone in the mastery of forces, but in the supremacy of principles. Reason and conscience must overcome ignorance and prejudice, and subordinate the appetites and passions to the nobler ends of the morally good.

The stress-point, the crisis, of the civilization of the present, is not that material progress has been or can ever be too great—a something hardly conceivable; but that *the moral powers are not keeping pace with the forces of the physical, and are being overbalanced and borne down by them*. Things are becoming more valued than principles; money is greater than man. It is easy to control forces, difficult to control conduct. We obey natural laws, but try to evade or compromise moral principles. We accept the new science, but cling to the old theology.

The social organism may for a time preserve correspondence

with its material environments on the sense side of existence, but only through the inspirations of the higher ideals of life and being can our mighty material civilization be redeemed from political corruption and brutal force. Working with natural forces our world has risen from physical weakness to almost omnipotent strength. The moral should add not less to the powers of being than has the material to existence. But we have yet to realize the transcendent possibilities of being at one with the moral order of a universe. We have learned to trust the natural; why should we be afraid to trust the Divine order of the good?

The laws of gravity and motion hold planets and suns and systems in their places and orbits; the laws of justice, of brotherhood, and love enthroned in all hearts, would end the strifes and attritions of labor and capital; would end the cruelties and wastes of war; would end race and religious prejudices and hatreds; make impossible the massacre of Jews in Russia, and the lynching and burning of black men in America. The great things of life must come from the soul side of being.

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Chicago, Ill.

THE TARIFF ISSUE IN ENGLAND.

THE coming elections in England, as in the United States, will be fought out upon the tariff issue. In the former there will, however, be introduced a relatively new feature—the proposition for an imperial customs union for which Mr. Chamberlain stands sponsor and is the ablest champion. As the plan is one of the most far-reaching in its possible effects upon imperial development which has been presented to the British nation for years, a short time may profitably be spent in studying it.

We will of necessity be compelled to consider the plan in general, as no detailed statement of it has ever been made. Its author is far too shrewd a political debater not to know that a plan of this nature can be defended with much greater ease by keeping it in the form of a general proposition than by committing oneself to details. So that until a "mandate from the country" is received we need not look for Joe Chamberlain to speak in other than general terms.

In general the plan looks toward favored treatment of colonial goods in the British market in return for a differential in favor of British goods in the markets of her colonies. In this way an imperial sentiment is to be developed; the colonies are to be "bound to the mother country by ties of interest." In short, an imperial federation is to be builded upon the foundation of an imperial zollverein.

So far all sounds well. But with this, as with all questions of practical politics, we must ask ourselves the question, Will it work? For in the realm of political science, workability is a touchstone by which all theories must be tested. Unless, therefore, a basis for tariff concessions can be found which possesses the cementing merit of mutuality, the plan will breed discord and disaffection rather than develop "ties of interest." Where, then, can such a basis be found?

The one commonly suggested is a differential in the markets of the mother country in favor of the foodstuffs or raw material of the colonies in return for a like favor to the manufactures of the mother country in the markets of the colonies. But let us see what this involves. Clearly, an abandonment of the principle of free trade upon the part of the United Kingdom and a bickering with her colonies as to the amount of the concession which each shall make; neither of which propositions is attractive to the majority of Englishmen.

Though free trade is not to the average Englishman a fetich to be worshipped, it is, nevertheless, a principle which he considers responsible for much of his nation's prosperity during more than half a century. Under it her manufacturing interests have enabled her to hold a high place among the commercial nations of the world, certainly a higher place than she could have held had she continued to protect her landed gentry at the expense of her industrial classes. That her mills and factories might flourish there must be found a cheap and abundant food supply for their operatives. To secure this she very wisely threw open her ports to the foodstuffs of every land. A cheap and abundant supply of raw materials for manufactures she secured by the same means. Whether in so doing she was acting generously or selfishly we need not stop to inquire, as it affects neither the principle nor the results.

But have conditions so changed as to render free trade an unnecessary or inexpedient principle in the politics of the United Kingdom? That the English nation does not think so may be safely concluded from the general and hearty approval of the recent repeal of the duties upon grain. Nor could we expect it to be otherwise. For never were the manufacturing interests of the United Kingdom more vital to her national welfare or more predominant than they are to-day. And certainly they were never forced to meet keener competition for the markets of the world than to-day. So close, indeed, is the competition that any appreciable increase in the price of food to her operatives, or of raw materials to her manufacturers, which was not

shared by her competitors, might so handicap her as to virtually count her out of the competition.

As few would be rash enough to advocate a British tariff upon raw materials for manufacture, let us note the effect of a tariff upon foodstuffs not coming from the colonies. So long as this would be of any value to the colonies it would necessarily result in an increase in the price of food to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. This would mean either one of two things—an increase in wages or a lower standard of living for the English workingman. As it would not create any greater demand for labor in the United Kingdom, I can see no reason for supposing that it would result in an increase in wages to its operatives. Wages are governed by the demand for labor and not by the cost of living, though this, if long periods are considered, fixes a minimum wage. A lower standard of living would injure the manufacturer in two ways: (1) it would decrease the efficiency of his operatives, and (2) it would lessen the demand for manufactured goods. Therefore, whether an increase in wages or a lower standard of living followed as a result of the tariff, the manufacturers would suffer.

But what would the United Kingdom gain as an offset to this sacrifice? A differential in the markets of her colonies. In order that we may the better estimate the value of this differential, a few statistics will be helpful. Of the \$525,000,000 worth of goods exported by the United Kingdom to her colonies, more than half goes to her free trade colonies, where it needs no differential; and of the remainder, which goes to her protectionist colonies, a considerable portion is now upon the free list. Thus not more than one-eighth of the exports of the United Kingdom could at present be benefited by a differential in the markets of her colonies. Granted that her exports to the protectionist colonies may increase considerably, and that some of her free trade colonies may become protectionist and hence be able to grant a differential, the fact remains that for many years to come the larger part of British trade must be with foreign countries.

As to the amount of benefit which the mother country could reasonably expect from such differentials as are likely to be granted her, we are fortunately not left entirely to speculation. In 1897 Canada granted a differential of twelve and one-half per cent. in favor of the exports of the United Kingdom; this was doubled in 1898, and on July 1, 1900, it was increased to thirty-three and one-third per cent. Under this preferential the exports of the United Kingdom to Canada have increased; but unfortunately for the advocates of Mr. Chamberlain's plan, the exports to Canada of certain other countries have increased more rapidly than have those of the United Kingdom. For example: the exports of the United Kingdom to Canada have increased less than thirty per cent., while those of the United States and France have increased one hundred per cent. during the period covered by the differential. In seeking for an explanation of this, we find it partly in the proximity of Canada to the United States and partly in the fact that raw materials are on the free list while the tariff on manufactured articles is such that with the differential off the Canadian manufacturer is still protected.

The protectionist sentiment is on the increase in both Canada and Australia, so that neither of them need be expected to grant a differential to the mother country which will leave their own manufacturers without protection. As the Canadians frankly assert, "we are willing to give a substantial preference to the mother country, provided that the minimum tariff must afford adequate protection to all Canadian products." Viewed from this standpoint a differential furnishes an extremely narrow and illusory basis upon which to rest an imperial zollverein. Of what avail is it to the British manufacturer that other goods are shut out by a high tariff if his also are shut out by a somewhat lower tariff?

But granting for the purpose of argument that the scheme would result in the capture of the colonial market by the mother country. As but one-fourth of the oversea trade of the United Kingdom is with her colonies, would it be manifesting good business judgment for her to risk the other three-fourths, or

\$600,000,000, for the sake of the \$200,000,000? And this risk is not of an imaginary or unsubstantial nature with reference to a very considerable portion of her trade with foreign countries. For as soon as the United Kingdom were to grant a differential in favor of the colonies her ability to compete in the markets of foreign countries will be lessened in two ways: (1) because of increased cost of production to her manufacturers, and (2) because in many countries she will be compelled to pay the maximum tariff rate, whereas she now pays the minimum. So long as the United Kingdom adheres to the policy of free trade she will have no difficulty in securing "most favored nation" treatment, *i.e.*, minimum tariffs; but not so when once she shall have begun to chase after delusive deities. When we remember that in many of the countries of continental Europe the minimum is frequently a low while the maximum is often a prohibitive tariff rate, the importance of the above to the British exporter becomes evident.

Would all this tariff-bargaining strengthen the ties which bind the colonies to the mother country? Or, would it not rather be an ever-present and prolific source of jealousy and disaffection? As there is no one product which is exported by all the colonies, and hardly a product which is exported in equal quantities by any two of them, the differential in the market of the mother country would have to cover a wide range of products in order to equalize the advantages accorded to her children. It is difficult to conceive of an adjustment which would not leave ground for apprehension upon the part of some colonies lest the mother country was dealing more generously with their sisters. But even if an entirely satisfactory adjustment of favors could be agreed upon, the rapidly changing conditions characteristic of new countries would soon necessitate a readjustment, hence you have an "endless chain," the links in which are family fights for favors.

If a free entry into the best market in the world for food-stuffs and raw materials, which for years must constitute the bulk of the exports of the colonies; defense by the British navy maintained at the expense of the mother country; representa-

tion by diplomats and consular agents also maintained at the expense of the mother country—if these do not constitute “ties of interest,” it is exceedingly doubtful if such ties could be created by a swapping of tariff favors. When a partnership is to be formed, whether for “tariff tinkering” or other purposes, it is pertinent to inquire what each partner can and will bring to the concern and how the profits are to be divided. In this case the United Kingdom brings a market of 41,000,000 customers with whom the colonies are to be given favored rights of trading, while the colonies, who jointly may be considered as the other partner, can bring a market of but 10,000,000 customers, upon whom a first mortgage is to be retained by their home manufacturers. And yet this junior partner in the concern is to be given the major portion of the profits. If the mother country is on the hunt for an opportunity to do philanthropic work among her self-governing colonies, it would seem that a more effective and at the same time less hazardous and expensive scheme could easily be hit upon. Neither as a piece of philanthropy nor as a business proposition does Mr. Chamberlain’s plan commend itself, and should the Conservatives become committed to the scheme, a victory for the Liberals in the next election is reasonably certain.

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HENRY THOREAU—AN ESTIMATE.

A LONG with the interest now in vogue concerning Emerson we might opportunely recall the character and works of one of his less famous but more radical and peculiar contemporaries—Henry David Thoreau—whose personality, more than most personalities, is unquestionably somewhat of a mystery. Most of us, to be sure, are familiar with the facts of his more or less lonely and unlovely life, but still, it may not be amiss here to sketch briefly the essential features of it.

He was born in Concord, Massachusetts, in 1817, and he died in 1862. His father was of French, and his mother of Scotch, descent; and a grave, sturdy Scotch temper in the son's make-up was ever more or less happily blended with an alert and humorous French strain. In 1837 he graduated from Harvard—but without taking any degree or winning any distinction. With his brother, for a while after leaving college, he taught a small private school; next, he applied himself to the business of making lead-pencils; and then he became a kind of land-surveyor. But in the pursuit of these various activities, he was restless and dissatisfied, and evidently enjoyed as much as anything long solitary tramps in the woods. At last, in 1845, when he was twenty-eight years old, he abandoned almost entirely life in society; built a hut on the shore of Walden Pond at Concord; and lived alone there in particular for about two years. All through life he was at heart a transcendentalist—one of those who believe human knowledge is ascertainable, in greater or less degree, without the aid of scientific experiment—and as such was the friend not only of Emerson, but as well of such of his contemporary celebrities as the Alcotts, the Channings, and Margaret Fuller.

The estimation in which Thoreau was held by his fellow townsmen is curious. He had few comrades or friends. By different folks he was regarded in different lights. Young people easily became attached to him, and he often acted as

guide, philosopher, and friend to them on their excursions into the fields and woods. His colleagues, such as Emerson and Channing, appreciated his fine sentiments and lofty thoughts—although they scarcely relished his habit of contradiction in conversation. But for the most part the farmers and others of Concord, the town in which he lived during the larger part of his life, did not know what to make of him; they regarded him and his unsocial and negative ways as queer; and he does not seem to have cared a doit what they thought.

In Hamlet, however, Shakespere puts into the mouth of Polonius the lines :

"To thine own self be true,
And it must follow as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man."

And Thoreau, early in life, seems to have discerned what kind of a being he was, to what conditions of existence he was subject; and then, calmly accepting himself and his conditions, he bravely set about making the most of them. It is perhaps because he was so true to himself, and lived so highly and nobly in accordance with the promptings of his genius and the circumstances of his environment, that his career and character attract the attention of so many of us—notwithstanding the fact that few, if any, would care to follow exactly in his footsteps.

To Thoreau, indeed, life was a thing to be lived, and, though compelled to earn his own livelihood like most of us, he desired to live life for himself fully and freely from beginning to end. In his most important book, "Walden," in which he records his experiences as hermit at Walden Pond, he writes :

"I went into the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach—I wanted to live deep and suck out all the marrow of life, to live so sturdily and Spartan-like as to put to rout all that was not life, to cut a broad swath and cut close, to drive life into a corner, and reduce it to its lowest terms, and, if it proved to be mean, why then to get the whole

and genuine meanness of it, and publish its meanness to the world; or if it were sublime, to know it by experience, and be able to give a true account of it in my next excursion."

In order to put into effect to the utmost these ideals and purposes he did about everything for himself—built his own house, provided his own food, made to some extent his own clothing, and wrote to some extent his own books. And he regarded the performance of all this not as a hardship, nor waste of effort, but as a pastime and means of self-culture.

Perhaps the key-note to his principles of life, however, is to be found in the following passage:

"It is not the tailor alone who is the ninth part of a man; it is as much the preacher, and the merchant, and the farmer. Where is this division of labor to end? And what object does it finally serve? The student who secures his coveted leisure and retirement by systematically shirking any labor necessary to man obtains but an ignoble and unprofitable leisure, defrauding himself of the experience which alone can make leisure fruitful. Which would have advanced most at the end of a month, the boy who had made his own jack-knife from the ore which he had dug and smelted, reading as much as would be necessary for this, or the boy who has attended the lectures on metallurgy at the Institute in the meanwhile, and had received a Roger's pen-knife from his father?"

Thoreau believes there is only one right response to his queries. He confidently challenges the virtues of our modern complex civilization with reference to its effects on the formation and development of human character, and his sharp criticisms in respect to the advantages of our present customs and institutions, as against more primitive ways, provoke thought in us whether we will or no. But, although he at first sight gives one the impression of having a strong case, and shakes our faith in the social order a bit, in reality his reasoning along this line is not especially profound, and there is after all little cause for alarm.

In the case of a craftsman as calculative and inventive as Thoreau, the exercise of one's powers and faculties, in providing for all personal wants, might, as a matter of course,

turn out both pleasurable and profitable. In the case of most of us, however, such a scheme of life would prove to be anything but feasible. Even for Thoreau, efficient in so many things as he was, with a college education besides—the benefits of which he was altogether too fain to underrate—such a course would have been impossible had his wants been more diverse. They were, however, limited in scope, and simple in character. He seems to have preferred the enjoyment of hoeing a potato-patch to that of attending a grand opera. He held that the lives of most of us were frittered away in the pursuit of such trivialities (in his estimation) as fiction, drama, music, sculpture, painting, and of such superfluities (in his opinion) as ice, telegraph, steam-engine, and many other things happily obtained by division of labor, coöperation in industry, and special training of special aptitudes at various schools and universities, and generally considered as quite legitimate and desirable comforts and luxuries of life. His motto was: simplicity, simplicity, simplicity. And, surely, if anyone in modern times ever underwent a life of simple living and high thinking in the full meaning of these words that person was Thoreau.

He ever nourished, moreover, as one of the chief principles of his life, the humor always to be about something new. A thing once done by him seemed to lose forthwith all its hold upon him. He worked for awhile at the stunt of making a new kind of lead pencil, and, on successfully completing his experiments, he renounced all further interest in the manufacture, saying: "I would not do again what I have once done." When he had depleted the resources and enjoyments of his anchorite existence at Walden Pond, and his stay there began to grow flat and wearisome, he forthwith decamped. His expeditions across the country were endless, and he ever liked to set out on them in a fresh direction, either to seek some new species of plant or animal life, or to appreciate some new aspect of nature's grandeur and beauty.

Another important conception of Thoreau, and of the other transcendentalists of his time, seems to have been that happiness comes from within. He and his fellow transcendentalists, in-

deed, were apparently each and all of them prone to regard themselves as the salt of the earth; either consciously or unconsciously they were ever posing as paragons for the edification of their less elect brethren. From what Thoreau writes of himself one is almost forced to believe that no man ever lived who had attained to a higher degree of self-knowledge, self-reverence, and self-control than he; whether he was happy or not, he ever stoutly maintained that he was, and it is quite possible in a measure in his own way that he was. "I love my faith to the core and rind," he once wrote, and the words have a true ring—as true as the ax did while he was hewing timber for his hut on the shore of Walden Pond.

To ring true in all he felt and did, and especially to the impressions nature might make upon him, was, of course, a matter about which Thoreau ever had a deal of solicitude. He confidently assures us that the mysteries and secrets of the universe are forever on the side of the most sensitive, on the side of those who are most content with and make the most of their surroundings. His own acutely trained bodily senses and mental faculties were nicely attuned to the rarest, subtlest manifestations of existence. Indifferent, he let gross things pass over his head; but with every nerve on the alert he seized upon the fine events of life, carefully studied them, and set accounts of them forth in a plain and piquant fashion. The habits and characteristics of a mother partridge and her brood, the gentle and sustaining influence of falling rain, the activities of snowbirds, the traits of the woodpecker, and what not, he describes with insight and delicacy. He seems to have known every tree of the forest, every flower of the field, every bird of the air, every fish in the water, and the tracks of every animal in the snow or ground of the region in which he lived. He found willows to be the trees most suitable for spring, elms for summer, maples and walnuts for autumn, evergreens for winter, and oaks for all seasons. Fishes came to the surface of the water to feed from his hand, squirrels ran up his arm to obtain nuts from his pocket, and even chickadees were on such good terms with him as to lisp and twitter cheerfully

under his gaze while warming themselves in the winter sun. Thoreau, indeed, could discover more resources for enjoyment in a day in a meadow than most of us could discover in a year on a continent. He possessed a kind of quick wisdom, too, that often enabled him to penetrate into the heart of things. In so far as savages and gypsies asserted a right to the productions of nature, and a place in her, like rivulets of the mountains, herbage of the fields, and trees of the forests, he sympathized with them. He was himself, at times, a sort of savage gypsy. He counsels:

"Go fish and hunt far and wide day by day—farther and wider—and rest thee by many brooks and hearth-sides without misgiving. Grow wild according to thy nature, like these sedges and brakes, which will never become English hay. Let the thunder rumble; what if it threatens ruin to farmer's crops? That is not its errand to thee. Take shelter under the cloud, while they flee to carts and sheds. Let not to get a living be thy trade, but thy sport. Enjoy the land, but own it not."

In short, don't be afraid to be poor, or get wet. Obtainment of food, clothing, and shelter, we see, never bothered Thoreau much. He had in him, as it were, a kind of untameable twist for independence.

But a world in which the struggle for existence is severe, where the tangle in which conflicting wills involve each other—in matters of business as well as love—is heart-splitting, and where those who once succeed in getting up are only too apt to turn around and try to keep others down, was a sphere scarcely suited to one of Thoreau's temper. The scramble among men for easy chairs, the exaltation of material comfort, the parade of pretention, in this world, too, he held in highest disdain. Of cities where the struggle of commercial life is fiercest he writes: "Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, New Orleans, and many others are the names of wharves projecting into the sea. They are good places to take in or to discharge a cargo. The more barrels, the more Boston. The museums and scientific societies and libraries are accidental. They gather around

the barrels to save carting." His mockery is luminous; and, what is worse, it is in no slight degree warrantable.

Thoreau, in fact, was a bit rustic and diffident. He could not well apply himself to the regime of social and industrial life of our great civilized centers. He shrank instinctively from rough personal encounters. In one of his journals he writes: "From hard, coarse, insensible men with whom I have no sympathy, I go to commune with the rocks whose hearts are comparatively soft." He resembles, in certain respects, a delicate and sensitive plant which thrives and grows hardy in the fresh air and bright sunshine of nature's hills and glens, but withers, grows rank, and dies in the heat and dust of city life.

For the peculiar blend of his spiritual and earthly nature, however, Thoreau is admired and respected as much as for anything. He seems constantly to have felt within him a force bearing him up and along as irresistibly as the law of gravitation holds planets and stars in their orbits; and he had an abiding faith in the guiding and sustaining influence of that force. It was his desire to attain not to Knowledge in particular, but to sympathy with Intelligence in general. He writes: "You think I am impoverishing myself by withdrawing from men, but in my solitude I have woven for myself a silken thread or chrysalis, and nymph-like shall ere long burst forth a more perfect creature, fitted for a higher society." He undoubtedly has a natural affinity for the mystical philosophies of the East. At times, too, he really does impress us as being the denizen of an atmosphere more ethereal than that in which most of us abide, as ever groping about in, or trying to fit himself for, those unexplored and immortal regions which lie beyond human ken.

Thoreau, though, would make himself more natural as well as more spiritual. He found in himself an instinct toward a lower and more savage life, not less than an instinct toward a higher and more spiritual one; and he revered them both. At certain times he experienced an inclination to roam the woods wild like a wolf, with the brute instincts uppermost in him, ready to devour voraciously any creature he happened upon. On other occasions he felt in so celestial a mood that

the motion of the most light-footed air, or the most silent-flowing water seemed to him pulsations of the Infinite. One of his most pithy utterances is perhaps the following: "When after feeling dissatisfied with my life, I aspire to something better, am more scrupulous, more reserved and continent, as if expecting somewhat, suddenly I find myself full of life as a nut full of meat, even overflowing with a quiet genial mirthfulness. I think to myself I must attend to my diet. I must get up earlier and take a morning walk. I must have done with business and devote myself to my muse." When his health was sound and his spirits high, he felt that all things worked together for good; even the toiling and moiling of humanity, and the tragedies constantly enacted in the animal world, he interpreted as plaintive strains of the universal harp whose ineffable melody ought to elevate us above the temporary and trivial.

Throughout his life Thoreau was, in truth, nobly chaste and abstemious. He had a mind at once disciplined and controlling. He never allowed himself to indulge in any bacchanial debauch, in any martial frenzy, in any unwise romanticism, in any dispiriting morbidness. He pursued the tenor of his way largely, if not wholly, emancipated from humanity's common sins and temptations, faults and foibles. The small spark of spirituality, in greater or less degree in all of us, he kept alive and burning brightly in him till the last.

After making due allowances, however, we know that the true life of a human being does not consist in living for oneself or by oneself to such an extent as Thoreau did. An individual cannot almost altogether detach himself from the society of his fellows with impunity. Our emulative faculties are quickened, and our knowledge and abilities happily increased, by living in company with fellow men. The friends and acquaintances, the tastes and habits of another, Thoreau considered as much a part of that other as the other's own personality; and the combination of all that went to make up another was apt to inspire in him, only too often, a monkey-like distrust and hate, rather than a Christian-like confidence and love. But

in this world here below friendship and love beget friendship and love, just as hate begets hate, and Thoreau, although he had in the main a kind and sensitive heart, yet, for some reason or other, he could not, or did not, impart the tenderness and affection in him to others; and so, as a natural consequence, he got little from them in return.

His complete works, as published in the New Riverside Edition, are, besides "Walden," "Concord and Merrimac Rivers," "Maine Woods," "Cape Cod," "Early Spring in Massachusetts," "Summer," "Autumn," "Winter," "Excursions," "Miscellanies," and "Familiar Letters." And in these works in both poetry and prose (for he wrote a little poetry as well as prose) Thoreau's style is like himself—lacking in sweetness and amenity, but possessing a peculiar purity, simplicity, vitality, and poise, all its own. Although he again and again tries to tear down without building up, he yet possesses the precious faculty of fecundating other minds, and helps—in his own way—to fix our attention on the good in life and nature, on the highest and best.

To some, whose idea of success is the attainment of a large competency through being of use to one's fellow men, praise of Henry David Thoreau must seem droll. But in spite of the narrowness and eccentricity of his career, in some respects, it is, in other respects, quite worthy of esteem. In the midst of the materialism of modern civilization, he is a wholesome reactionary, or counterbalancing, force. Almost everything in life seems to be counterbalanced: north by south, east by west, up by down, in by out, hot by cold, positive by negative, male by female, civilization by wildness, complexity by simplicity, and so on. Now, undoubtedly, a highly civilized and complex life tends in time to become debilitating and degenerating; and, when we feel ourselves debilitated or degenerated by it, we would do well to chasten and invigorate ourselves by reading what Thoreau has written. We need not swing so far in a recalcitrant direction as he did. But we might to advantage follow him part way, adopt the golden mean course.

It is true that many, in supercilious moods, are prone to dis-

pose of Thoreau rather summarily by dubbing him a crank. But much honor may be due to cranks. Carlyle, the author of "Sartor Resartus," and Emerson, the author of "Spiritual Laws," were, each in his own fashion, cranks as well as Thoreau; and by such superb cranks as these fresh zest is given to life. Indeed, it is a little deplorable that more of us do not have time to read oftener such a, let us say, crank as the author of "Walden."

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ART AND AMERICAN STUDENTS.

SOME twelve years ago, in a magazine article on the origin and growth of the Art Students League, the author said: "Culture is not bought with French pictures and peach blow vases. It comes from within; it cannot be imparted from without."

Long before the above named article appeared and to an increasing extent since, the United States have been sending young men and women to study Art in foreign ateliers and galleries. To-day it is conceded even by the pessimist that we are slowly evolving a national Art. To what lengths, it may be asked, has foreign study contributed to this end? And furthermore, at what stage in their careers have the foremost American artists made their foreign studies?

Time was when Paris and Rome shared the honor of cradling the Art of other nations. The correspondence between the two cities was (and to a certain extent still remains) a parental relation. America sends her students to Paris, France sends hers to Rome. The man who has risen to prominence out of this chaos realizes that Art is not nailed on the door post of any nation. The true artist (using the term in a qualifying sense) does not seek Art outside of his country; he carries it with him. But the students—the elementary candidates—are ever "en route," are ever being directed to this or that way-house of Art. Ninety per cent., deluded into believing the Muse to be domiciled "*dans ses meubles*," set up easel and stool in Paris, London, Munich, Rome, Antwerp, etc., and forthwith begin to emulate their chosen deity. When the lack of means or some other urgent cause forces them to turn their faces homeward, they arrive at their starting point so foreignized in thought and expression of work that they are out of harmony with the national spirit and consequently with the artistic movement of their country.

Much has been said concerning the dangers which attend the student who, believing himself talented and fit to struggle

through the weary years of study, flies off to a foreign school to worship at the very steps of the shrine. The gravest error made at the very beginning of his career is the belief that Art is located. Few, indeed, are those with character sufficiently formed and individuality so grounded that surrounding influences will have no bad effect upon their natures. Of all persons, the artist is most delicately open to sensitive impressions. An unformed mind lends the most ready ear and heart to outside opinions. Art students in the early years of study are not antagonistic enough to the onslaughts of foreign individualities. Painters are painters the world over, not less in America than abroad. The average of strong artists or promising students is as small in Europe as at home, while the temptations toward waste of time are appallingly greater. It has been often said that Paris, Rome, or Brussels offer better surroundings and larger opportunities for the study of Art, both as regards means of living and methods of study. As a whole, native students in the Beaux Arts, Juliens, the Royal Academies, etc., etc., are of no higher order, and I think less sincere than those in our own New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburg schools. The great majority are hopelessly academic, vainly seeking for inspiration and technical secrets from the often over-much vaunted old masters, or deluded intransigents, blinded by the light of a modern secessionist, without the ability or knowledge of penetrating beneath the painted surface and finding the soul of a great work. For them to seek within themselves for a moving impulse seems to be an unthought of thing. The American thrown amid such fellow students is in great danger, unless he is gifted with exceptionally strong resisting powers that will enable him to bid the gregarious instinct lie low. The difficulty of persisting in a determined course involving years of application and ceaseless study is too great a tax on the mind for the individual to weaken himself by association with other unnecessary conditions capable of exercising a pernicious influence upon his advance.

When the student has finally merged into the man—the artist with opinions healthily formed and a soundly rooted apprecia-

tion of art principles—then and not before can he with safety and resulting benefit visit the Old World schools and galleries. He will then be able to distinguish between abstract admiration of the archaic and unconscious imitation. Knowing the cunning of his own hand, he will value at its true relative merit (to him) the technique of old masters without at any time being deluded into believing that to paint as this or that one did is an end in itself. The influence of an old master's technical qualities is dangerous only to the ignorant; but many art students have fallen in the beginning of their careers into slavish imitation purely by reason of their too early weaning from the kindergarten stage of study, and ignorance as to what qualities in the old masters' work explains their power in the world, both in their time and ours.

Many years of study are necessary for the student to grasp the perspective of its history and turn the knowledge gained to proper account. Nothing is easier than getting away from the to-day of Art into the yesterday of Rubens, Veronese, Velasquez, or any one of the illustrious dead. The circle of influence is readily discernible, but to understand its pathology is another matter, and for the striving student to perceive and consign to their proper places the stars whose luster increases or is dimmed with time, is as impossible as for a primary grade scholar to write an essay on the comparative value of Elizabethan literature.

The necessity for the art student to first study in his own country is imperative. The permanently expatriated artist will become a French, British, or Italian painter, good or bad; but the man, who after studying abroad returns home to paint in his own country is likely to give us Art of a hybrid kind, if it be Art at all. The world has not yet reached the stage where Art is universal in its own time. Years before Velasquez was hailed Universal! he was a Spaniard; Giorgione was an Italian a long time, and Rembrandt a Hollander ere the world claimed them irrespective of nationality. Love of country is just as essential to the painter as interest in the model or preference for a landscape. The superficial attractions of life in Paris

and Rome may be quite inimical to one's opinions regarding the nation or its character.

The artist or student in Europe is not a more important individual than his neighbor of more prosaic profession, as is so frequently supposed. But very often by reason of eccentricities in dress and manner he is pronounced a greater fool. A large brimmed hat, bow tie, long hair, velvet coat and baggy trousers usually cover a multitude of shortcomings, both ethical and mental. And yet many American students who are in mortal dread of popular opinion at home adopt the most unconventional habits abroad as if these things conferred upon a painter the qualities of an artist. It is another evidence of the worship of the outside while the within is neglected. Comic paper caricatures of artists are not exaggerated; on the contrary, they frequently fall short of the reality. The student's elementary philosophy enables him to take the humor and leave the lesson.

American artists—especially students—are often heard complaining about the absence of artistic atmosphere and traditions of Art at home. This, of course, in comparison with the same, pervading European cities, as described in romantic stories and newspaper articles. Leaving aside the complaint's claims to truth, they should be glad rather than otherwise if this is so, for in that case it yet remains to be created. Not the enervating kind existing in the Quartier Latin, Montmartre, or the Villa Medici, but a healthy, invigorating atmosphere, untainted by the pollution of dead principles; a clean and free soil as befits the rise of an adolescent nation's art, untrammelled by the binding precedents of a decaying institution.

In many European cities where art schools exist, the students, too weak to look forward and keep pace with a revivifying modernity, turn their faces back and dwell in the Art of their forebears. The few who break away from self-imposed limitations find it difficult to shake off the old spirit of imitation and content themselves with worshiping a modern idol, be he Impressionist, Pointillist, or Luminarist. This also is atmospheric. A true artist, on the other hand, creates his own surroundings,

lives and works within them. The wish to bask in the warming rays of a new star is a confession of mental poverty the artist should be the first to shrink from. "Artistic atmosphere" has never made an artist of lasting fame, but it has caused the downfall of many promising students.

The average student cannot hope to model his life after those of a few exceptional men who despite all rules to the contrary, have risen to towering heights in their particular field. Shakespeare as Shakespeare may do with impunity what would be artistic suicide with a literary aspirant whose qualifications so far consist of a boundless capacity for work added to a perfect knowledge of English. After the results are accomplished, man may glorify the means; to reverse the order is like placing the cart before the horse. Emulation for its own sake robs the action of all spiritual value.

Let the American student study in home schools, where the best of our artists stand ready to direct and assist him. Contact with others of a variegated order but of one national spirit will do much towards strengthening a native individuality, while the pernicious hodge-podge of an artistic Cosmopolis will not be present to enlist his mental energy in the ephemeral incidents of student life so common to Paris and Rome.

Enough of European art can be seen in the dealers' galleries to keep the student in touch with the movement at large; and if examples of the old masters are thought indispensable in the moulding stage of study, the Metropolitan Museum contains a sufficient number of their best canvases with which he may regale his amateurish desires. But one thing is absolutely essential—that he be thoroughly impressed with the value of artistic material in his own country, something he has grown up amid and whose soul he can understand before he seeks to paint European landscapes or figures to which he is spiritually unacclimated, and whose true relation to life he cannot grasp if the Art and Nature of his birthland are unfamiliar to him.

Raffaelli was asked one day, what should a sincere student of Art do besides study Nature and paint, in order to succeed. "*Il faut lire les Grecques*," was his answer; and his interlocutor

understood this to mean that the study of abstract beauty in any form was a necessary adjunct to the study of Art. The Greek classics naturally stand as the symbol of all that is beautiful.

To go abroad in search of beauty betrays soul poverty. The American who fails to find beauty in American landscape, or artistic atmosphere among his fellow students, will never find either abroad, whatever he may induce himself to think. After the student has been thoroughly formed at home and merged into the artist, and not before, will he be capable of appreciating at its true value what the rest of the world has to offer.

L. SCOTT DABO.

New York City.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS' MISTAKES ABOUT PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

I N the Boston Sunday *Herald* of Sept. 7, I find the following:

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Sept. 5, 1903.

Hoping to enlist his aid in agitating the question of municipal ownership of street railways and other public utilities, a question which is receiving some attention in Kansas City, Kan., at present, one of the agitators wrote Charles Francis Adams, of Boston, for an expression of opinion. Mr. Adams has large interests here. The reply, received to-day by E. P. Snedeker, is not encouraging to government ownership advocates. Mr. Adams says:

"I cannot agree with you about the transportation question. It so chanced I have had occasion to examine very carefully municipal transportation, both for city service and for railroads in Europe. I have heard great yarns about it. I can only say that, as the result of careful official examination on my part, I have never yet found in Europe, anywhere, a case of municipal or public transportation worthy of an instant's consideration as compared with our own. The municipal systems in Glasgow would lead to a riot within 24 hours if put in use in Kansas City.

"Under the circumstances, do not look for sympathy from me in a movement in that direction. . . . Please don't talk to me of doing business through government machinery. It is one colossal exhibition of waste, extravagance and incompetence."

It appears to the friends and admirers of the Hon. Chas. Francis Adams, and I am one of them, that he is in danger of destroying in his old age the splendid reputation for careful investigation and accurate statement which he built up in his young manhood.

In the first place it is untrue that the street railway service of Glasgow would create a riot or any sort of disturbance if introduced into Kansas City. It is a very excellent electric service, quite as good in most respects as that of Kansas City, the

inferior in speed because the law does not allow such speed as we have. The cars go as fast as the law permits, safety being more regarded in England than speed.

In the second place the fair comparison is not between public plants in one country and private service in another country, which is more advanced than the first in all that has to do with machinery and transportation: the true comparison is between public ownership and private corporation management in the same country, and if possible in the same city.

Every one who has traveled through the English cities with his eyes and ears open, knows that municipal transportation, and other public services in Glasgow, Liverpool, and elsewhere are vastly superior to the private corporation services they displaced in the same cities, and to the services in other British cities still retaining the private tramways and other public utilities. This is matter of common knowledge in England. The facts about Glasgow are summarized by Prof. Parsons in "The City for the People," as follows:

"In 1894 the city of Glasgow became the owner and manager of its street car lines. The consequences were:

"1. The hours of labor were reduced from twelve and fourteen to ten per day, and from eighty-four and ninety-eight to sixty per week; wages were raised two shillings per week, and two uniforms a year were supplied to each man free, a voluntary improvement of the conditions of labor showing a policy exactly contrary to that of the private companies.

"2. Fares were reduced at once about thirty-three per cent.—the average fare is below two cents, and over thirty-five per cent. of the fares are one cent each—a voluntary movement in the direction of cheap transportation, disclosing once more a policy precisely contrary to that of the private companies. For short distances the fare is one cent, and night and morning working people can go long routes for a cent. . . . We pay the same five-cent rate that we did ten years ago, while in Glasgow fares fell fifty per cent. in five years (1891-1896), and are now fifty-five per cent. below the level of 1891.

"3. The service was improved. An editorial in the *Progressive Review*, London, November, 1896, says: 'The tramways of Glasgow have been made the finest undertaking of the kind in the country, judged both by their capacity to serve the

public and as a purely commercial enterprise.' Glasgow is one of the first cities in Britain to take steps toward replacing horse power by mechanical traction. She sent a committee all over the civilized world to study the best methods, and an electric system is now being introduced while even London contents itself with horses.

"4. The traffic was greatly enlarged, doubled in about two years, by low fares, good service and the increase of interest naturally felt by the people in a business of their own.

"5. Larger traffic and the economies of public ownership have reduced the operating cost per passenger to $1\frac{1}{3}$ cents, and the total cost, including interest, taxes and depreciation, is $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per passenger. When the private company was collecting 3.84 cents per passenger it declared that only .24 of a cent was profit. Now the city collects $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents and still there is about a quarter of a cent clear profit, and this is with horse power, which makes the cost per car mile at least twenty per cent. more than with electric traction.

"6. The profits of the business go to the public treasury, not into the pockets of a few stockholders."

This is one of the reasons Mr. Adams and other large stockholders dislike public ownership, but they do not usually explain this motive when they express their feelings on the subject.

In Liverpool, when the city took the street railways, it tore out the old plant at once and put in an electrical equipment, greatly improved the speed, comfort, and safety of the service, raised wages, and cut fares about one-half. The enterprise is worth \$5,000,000 more than its capitalization, and in twenty-five years the debt will be entirely extinguished. The tramways pay a large sum each year in reduction of local taxes; yet over a million is saved to the people in lower fares each year. The fares now are two cents in the old city, and four cents beyond. Ninety per cent. of the passengers pay the two-cent fare. About \$200,000 a year, or one-third of the total wage payment, represents the direct gain of the employees through municipal ownership. It would have cost \$200,000 less if the men worked the same hours and were paid the same wages as under the private company, so that in hours and

wages the men have gained an equivalent of about fifty per cent.

Is this "one colossal exhibition of waste, extravagance and incompetence?"¹ Did Mr. Adams know of these facts? If so why did he try to mislead and deceive the people of Kansas City? If he did not know them where is his reputation for careful investigation and accurate statement?

Before 1893 only one municipality operated its tramways; 1893-'95 four others entered the lists; 1896-'98 eleven more; and now over 100 street railway systems with more than half the mileage in the Kingdom, are owned by municipalities. Such has been the effect of the proved advantages of public ownership over the corporation system as shown by the experience of Leeds, Glasgow, Liverpool, Nottingham, Sheffield and many other cities.

It is true that the service, even on the public tramways of Great Britain, is inferior to the service on our best street railway systems, *but the service on the private company tramlines of Great Britain is still more inferior.* This is well known and admitted on all sides in England. Why does Mr. Adams refrain from mentioning this fact? Why does he tell the people of Kansas City in substance that public ownership is the reason the tramservice in Glasgow and elsewhere is not up to our grade, when he knows perfectly well that the cause of the inferiority of the English service is national backwardness; that private services in England and all along the line are inferior to ours, and that public ownership so far from deteriorating the service has greatly improved it.

To the onlooker it would seem that Mr. Adams' large financial interests in railways and other corporation enterprises

(1) For examples of splendid efficiency in public service in this country see the account of the Detroit electric lighting plant, in the last ARENA (Oct., 1903), and the many cases cited in "The City for the People," by Prof. Frank Parsons (published in the Equity Series, 1520 Chestnut St., Philadelphia); in "Municipal Monopolies," edited by Prof. E. W. Bemis (published by Crowell & Co.), and in the Convention Number of Municipal Affairs, vol. 6, No. 4, 52 Pine St., New York City.

blind him to the truth; and perhaps the consideration shown him in the past has led him to think that the people will credit all he says, no matter how ridiculous it may be. An example may show what I mean. At a dinner of the Boston Economic Club, attended by a large number of Boston's heavy business and professional men, Mr. Adams made a speech about the anthracite coal strike in which he strongly deprecated the efforts of President Roosevelt and others to settle the trouble by arbitration. He said he trembled for fear they would interfere with the natural order of events. Industrial war was according to the natural order. It should be let to run its course. If the strike went on some Yankee inventor would find a way to get along without coal and then our cities would be freed from smoke and dust.

The purpose was good but the reasoning execrable. We already know how to get rid of the smoke nuisance. If owners were required to put in smoke consumers even the air of Chicago might be fit to be at large. The assumption that strikes are in the natural order of things while efforts for arbitration are an interference with natural law is a sort of logic too absurd for any one but a railway attorney, or an intellectual contortionist trained in the mental somersaults of the old time theological logic, one of the tricks of which was to label everything the logician approved of "natural," or "divine," and everything he did not approve of "unnatural," "heathenish," or "satanic."

Mr. Adams' "Chapters of Eric," published in 1886, is one of the best and soundest books we have, but it looks as if he could no longer be relied upon for clear thought or careful statement, at least where his interests, prejudices or fancies interfere.

W. P. B. HOLMES.

THE ABSENCE OF WOMAN IN LITERATURE.

THE most ardent champion of the equality of the sexes is compelled to admit that woman in literature is more conspicuous by her absence than by her presence. I do not mean to say that woman has not been active in the literary art. On the contrary, she has seized the pen as the most ready instrument of self-expression, and upon the written page has poured forth the thoughts, emotions and aspirations which have swelled to utterance in the silent chambers of her soul. She has done some good work, too—work that has endured and will continue to endure the test of time. Nevertheless, the great creative artists are men, not women. The masterpieces of a Homer, a Dante, a Shakespeare; of a Raphael, an Angelo; a Beethoven or a Wagner, stand upon an altitude where no woman has yet climbed.

These are facts. Who would seek to deny them? Instead of frown or cavil is it not wiser to look the fact squarely in the face, and then set to work to search out the hidden causes of which the fact is but the outward expression? Is woman's inferior status in literature due to a natural deficiency of brain as compared with the masculine gray matter, or may the cause be traced to more complex factors which do not appear upon the surface?

The woman of to-day, even more than the man of to-day, owes an incalculable debt to that brilliant body of fearless thinkers, who, with Darwin at their head, have within the last fifty years laid bare the processes of growth, and shown us that neither man, animal, nor the universe is a finished production, but is instead a steady unfoldment, development, or evolution in which the ceaseless surge of Infinite Power is constantly pressing for higher and better things. The researches in biology have revolutionized the status of woman in the scheme of creation, though I doubt if the mass of women are more

than fractionally awake to its uplifting import. Science has worked out this problem by a study of environment and individuality. And it is along these lines that I wish to indicate the cause of woman's present position in literature as well as the other creative arts.

Science has long since shown that all the physical forces of the universe may be reduced to two great forces—the centripetal and the centrifugal. Later investigation shows that a beautiful correspondence exists between these two opposing forces, in the realm of mind just as in the realm of matter. When the twin forces play upon human life and destiny, we call them individuality and environment. Individuality consists in the natural instincts and powers of the person, environment in the circumstances with which he is surrounded; the former or central principle corresponding to the centripetal force, and the latter, which is outer and variable, to the centrifugal.

I shall first touch on woman's environment.

The fascinating pages of biology, which is, indeed, but the recital of the fairy tales of creation, depict our ancestors roaming about in perfect freedom and equality. At that time maternity was but a passing incident. But as development proceeded and the family became a unit, the mother no longer roamed the wilds. The concentration of all her powers in the production of her child had been followed by the consequent dissipation of those same forces into the thousand small cares which hedge about the feet of the mother. The higher the race rose in the scale, the more circumscribed became her action; and thus, through the nurture and rearing of offspring, woman's "sphere" had its genesis.

Woman is like a deep river, which, issuing forth from the fountain head of life side by side with man, spreads into small channels until it ceases to attract the attention drawn by a single mighty current. On the other hand, man is the single current. His environment has never obliged him to divide his forces. His fatherhood has been the impelling power which has caused him to develop ingenuity, invention, reason, creativeness, through the struggle to secure for the family food, shelter,

fire, and clothing. Every occupation of man, broadly speaking, from primeval times to the present, has been of a nature to train the eye to keenness, the hand to skill, the body to strength, the mind to courage and concentration.

Through long centuries of experience and hereditary transmission he has acquired a degree of mental concentration unknown to woman, in the average. The mysteries of the laws of mind which are now being so assiduously pursued have shown with startling emphasis that concentration of the intellectual faculties is the essential principle of creative mentality. Only that mind which is capable of focusing all its powers on the subject in hand can give permanent expression to the spirit of art. By reason of her environment woman has developed faculty in small ways, man in large ways. When, once upon a time, the prehistoric man sat upon a river bank, thinking, thinking how to build a bridge across the rushing current, prehistoric woman was thinking, too; but—she was wondering if her consort's old moth-eaten buffalo robe could be cut down into a suit for the prehistoric boy, and still have sufficient left to shoe the feet of the prehistoric girl!

In fine, woman has spent her forces on details, man on principles.

So far, man seems to have the better of the argument. But here again science comes to the rescue, and unfolds to our wondering gaze a fact before which all the creations of man in marble or enduring ink sink into insignificance. When the first mother looked upon her first little one in "the thorns and briars of the wilderness," there was born into the human soul "the greatest thing in the world."

The constant care, watchfulness, and labor for the helpless babe evolved within the mother-heart that love which is admitted to be the strongest tie on earth. Dr. Henry Drummond, the noted Scotch divine, has painted the evolution of the mother in words so chaste and beautiful that the reader is lifted entirely above the physical plane and stands in awe before the revelation. To further crown woman, Dr. John Fiske, of lamented memory, discovered that to the prolonged infancy of

the human species was due the rise of the moral sentiments, as well as the affections. From the love for her own, finally evolved the love for others, and the spirit of justice, truth, freedom, and equality.

I wish every woman who has ever felt weary and discouraged and inferior would read these authors, and forevermore exalt herself, her motherhood, and the role which is hers to fill in the great drama of creation.

The other factor in the process of growth, individuality, is modified as the years pass on by the beliefs which thought and experience build into the individual. The beliefs which have moulded the status of woman are legion, and yet the great majority may be classed under one general head; viz., those beliefs which strive to indicate the relation of man to God and of God to man—in other words, religion. Students of sociology admit the tremendous influence of religious beliefs in the race-development. The evolution of the race has gone hand in hand with the evolution of religion.

Woman, by reason of her development of the emotions, has been peculiarly susceptible to religious influence. Consider, then, the pregnant fact that religion has always taught woman that she was an inferior being. I grant you that, in spite of this fact, religion has been one of the mightiest uplifting factors in her development; but the statement stands that religion has declared woman inferior to man, and she has humbly accepted the man-made dictum.

Then the polytheism of semi-barbarism burst into the divine conception of the one God, the Jehovah, yet for many centuries the devout Hebrew thanked God daily that he was not born a woman. St. Paul, the greatest exponent of that offshoot from the Hebrew parent-stem, which we call Christianity, declared it a shame for a woman to speak in church and ordered her to learn of her husband in silence at home.

One of the keenest recollections of my childhood is the wave of indignation which always swept over me when these passages chanced to be read at family prayers or from the pulpit. I felt wronged, not only in my own person, but for all woman-

hood. Those were the days when every word between the lids of the Bible was supposed to be a direct fiat from the Almighty. Truly, woman owes much to science, but to no branch of it are her thanks more generously due than to that scientific method of investigation called "higher criticism," which has forever winnowed the chaff of personal opinion from the wheat of great spiritual truths.

The action of individuality upon environment, and the reaction of environment upon individuality, have in the steady process of growth, culminated during the latter half of the nineteenth century in a general letting down of the bars which public opinion, made up simply of individual beliefs, had erected around woman's sphere. The early women writers of this century plied the pen in secret and kept fancy work at hand with which to hide their occupation should a chance caller drop in. They were unsexed by an inkstand. No wonder their early efforts were highly romantic and oozed hysterical sentiment at every pore. The gentle creatures, who fainted at will and were debarred the strengthening studies of their brothers, no doubt marked an era of ascent from the epoch of the Vicar of Wakefield's poor wife who was sent to the kitchen to make gooseberry pie when her husband wished to discourse learnedly, but they were scarcely qualified to do more than gently agitate the literary waters.

As woman gained more confidence in her powers, the intense pages of the Charlotte Brontë stage appeared. Then she ventured into a little philosophy, and finally Mrs. Humphrey Ward startled the critics by daring to discuss religion itself. After this she grew braver still and tried her hand at social evils—so to-day we have the "problem" novel, a direct evolution of the forebears here recited.

Amid all this literary activity, which signifies nothing less than a woman's renaissance, a few names stand pre-eminent. First comes George Eliot, who, when her genius demanded a voice, was obliged to assume a man's name in order to secure a hearing for the keen analytical research and profound philosophy which have placed her at the head of woman-novelists.

She suffered deeply, too, from the censure which the public, because of unjust marriage laws, visited upon her because of her determination to marry the man of her choice.

George Sand strove also against the polite conventions of her day. Had she been free to follow her ideals, no doubt this greatest of French woman-writers would have borne a more favorable reputation. A strong nature, "Cabin'd, cribbed, confin'd," by the ignorant prejudices of public opinion must defy these prejudices for very life's sake.

It is pleasant to turn from the contemplation of these struggling authors to the environment of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Perhaps no other woman in literature has enjoyed the tender love and care which were showered upon the later life of this queen of woman-poets.

America has not yet produced a woman-writer worthy to be named with these artists. Harriet Beecher Stowe's book has perhaps been more widely read than any other book written by a woman, but its fame was due to the stirring questions of the day. Critics do not class it as monumental literature,

The trio of names, George Eliot, George Sand and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, are all that this century has produced whose place in the niche of fame is unquestioned. They represent not only the greatest achievements of woman in this century, but also in any other century. This is as it should be, and shows that the evolution of woman is a healthy growth, and that its ripening is set for the future.

It is evident that until very recent times all the odds have been against the woman with literary tastes. The wonder, therefore, is not that she has done so little, but that she has done so much. The dawn of the new century finds woman awakening to the fact that she is an individual, and, therefore, possesses a heaven-born right to develop herself along any line she desires. Motherhood is, and always will be, the greatest incident in her career; but over and above and beyond all else she is first, last, and always an individual.

It has been shown that in becoming the mother of the race, woman has used those forces which in man have sought ex-

pression in forms of art. But no gift of prophecy is required to perceive that the flood of mechanical inventions and the social tendency to coöperation promise to entirely relieve her of the small details of housekeeping which have so long absorbed her attention. The new order will result in much leisure time to her. What will she do with it? May not the genius which, denied utterance in times past, has been transmitted into aspiration for the child, now safely be spoken.

Woman needs to remember that before she can express herself through the medium of art, she must have that within herself which is worthy of expression. It is useless to claim that women have been thinkers. All the facts of history and science disprove the claim. The brilliant occasional exceptions are like the comets which serve to prove the rule of fixed stars. (This fact by no means detracts from the grandeur of her role in the drama of creation—it is simply related to the concrete facts of woman's absence in literature, which is the subject of this inquiry.)

If woman would write worthily, she must learn to think. She must abandon the shallow habits of mind which have become hereditary, handed down through generations so circumscribed that, always excepting the maternal affections, their forces could find no outlet except in the superficialities of dress, conventions, and personalities. A shallow stream cannot turn the wheels of manufacture, neither can a mind that has not wrestled understandingly with the deep things of life produce a work of art, be it drama, poem, picture, or bust.

Woman must speak from the center of her being, not the circumference. Her education must cease to stimulate her imagination at the expense of her reason. She must read more science and philosophy and less fiction. She must probe below the surface for causes, and seek to make practical application of principles.

Then, when she has developed on the intellectual side as she has already done on the emotional, who shall say that the resultant equilibrium shall not show forth in a creative art second to none?

ALMA A. ROGERS.

Portland, Oregon.

THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY AND THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

THE problems in what is known to-day as the labor world would be greatly simplified if the employer, the employed, and the public were the only factors. There is a fourth party, in my judgment the most troublesome factor of all—that fourth factor is the owner.

The owner often employs laborers and operates the business, but when he does so he operates and employs, not as owner, but as manager, and should be viewed in this double capacity. Ownership is not necessarily connected with any industry to-day, further than as represented in the dividends received from the business, or by votes in the meetings of the stockholders.

The rights of property are wholly subject to the law of expediency. This dictum does not compromise the laws of human justice, for in the material world the law of expediency is the law of right. The State—whether by that term we mean the savage tribe or clan, the barbarian or medieval free city or community, or the more imposing political states of the present—the State has always exercised this jurisdiction. It is ridiculous to affirm that the State has no right to interfere in the adjustment of affairs affecting private property. It was the application of the superior right of the State which abolished private property in children. In the exercise of this right the State has abolished property in slaves, has confiscated church lands and monasteries and large estates, has, in many instances, abolished the right of primogeniture, has abolished fiefs and the privileges of entail, while the right to will property without legal restriction has been almost universally succeeded by systems in which the public enters as a moral claimant, on the basis of expediency.

Now, while property is rightly subject to the welfare of the

State and is subordinate to its interests (the State being its protector and guardian), the State, in turn, exists solely in the interest of man. The State has no other mission than to serve human interests. And property, itself subordinate to the State, is only one of those agencies by which the State renders this service to men.

In this discussion I desire to use the last winter's coal strike as an illustrative object lesson, because it is at once typical in character and a clear-cut case still vividly present in the public mind, and also because I personally visited the mines during the strike, and so can discuss the question with a degree of certainty that personal acquaintance with the facts renders possible.

The appeal to the American people in the coal strike was distinctly an appeal arising out of the difference, not between employer and employee, but between organized monetary power on the one hand and men on the other. The attitude of both parties from the beginning was significant. The one ready to submit to any accredited body of investigators all questions at issue. The other affirming that the public has no voice in the adjustment of differences arising out of the manipulation of private property.

True, some of the expressions of the miners were uncouth, some acts were rough and reprehensible. This was to be anticipated. When we consider that nearly 150,000 men and boys were idle for nearly a half year, many of them entirely ignorant of American customs and of our language, virtually contract laborers when they were brought from Europe; when we consider the misrepresentation of the dominant press of the country and the public criticism from platform and pulpit; and when we consider the pressure brought to bear from the concerted action which money is always able to control, the only wonder is that, instead of the three murders reported by the Arbitration Commission, there were not the twenty-one reported to President Roosevelt by those who appealed for military protection. The saloons were wide open in every city and mining village. Strangers were in many towns intent on

stirring up strife and lawlessness. Yet in a trip which included practically every mining city and town in the region—from Mt. Carmel, Shamokin, and Pottsville on the southwest to Carbon-dale and Forest City on the northwest—we met only seven drunken men. Four of these were Pennsylvania soldiers, two were working in the stockades as “strike-breakers,” and the occupation of the seventh we did not learn.

But the fact which is of most significance is that at no time during the contest did the miners as a body shrink from publicity, nor from placing all issues in the hands of the public for adjustment, while there was the persistent assumption, on the part of those who represented the monetary interests involved, that there was nothing to arbitrate. It was to dispel the error that property has certain sacred rights which the State must not touch, that the production of a commodity indispensable to the very existence of the people can be the private business of a few individuals, that coal mining ceased for nearly half a year. And the highest lesson to be learned from the careful investigation and impartial award of the Coal Commission is that, above all the claims of monetary right is the right of humanity to essential freedom, and to the service of the State in securing that freedom. It was an expensive lesson for us to learn. It cost above \$100,000,000, beside inconvenience and suffering which can never be computed, to arouse us from the hallucination, but I think no one will doubt that the instruction has been worth the price.

We hear much discussion to-day of the struggles between Capital and Labor. I confess to a little feeling of irritation when I hear people talk about the relative rights of “Capital and Labor.” What are the relative rights of a wood-chopper and his ax, or a book-keeper and his pen? What are the relative rights of a miner and his pick? We are trying to place in the same category a human being and a machine—a Life and a Thing. What we mean when we speak of the struggle between capital and labor, or what we ought to mean, is—between *capital* and *the laborer*. And we ought to begin to be more exact in our language.

The owner of capital does not often enter upon the scene in an industrial conflict. When he is present it is as manager, or employer, not as owner. But the laborer must be on the ground or he ceases absolutely to be a factor. And he must be putting forth physical or mental energy, expending his own vitality—that is, his capital—or he has no economic significance in the conflict. We have said that property should be subject to the law of economic expediency. The same cannot be affirmed of "labor." Labor means flesh and blood. A group of laborers cannot be studied simply as an economic force. The group represents a certain number of homes, of dependent children, of social and educational and spiritual interests, and any policy which fails to comprehend all these interests is as defective as a laboratory method which would dissect a living man to find his soul.

We saw capital everywhere in the coal region during the strike. Above the great veins of coal—the natural wealth of the region—stand the great plants of productive machinery. The "stripping" at Mellinsville, the richest I believe in the entire anthracite belt, is a striking example. The vein extends from fifteen feet below the surface to a depth of about eight hundred feet. At the top is the splendidly equipped breaker, and around the breaker the little plank shanties occupied by the laborers and their families—buildings which are inferior to many of the tenements in the East Side of New York City and which are owned by the mining company. We saw breakers and washeries and railroads and rolling stock, literally millions of dollars of Capital, but we did not see any Labor. We saw thousands of people, idle men, anxious women, little boys with bruised hands revealing their former toil; these were not "labor" they were human beings, each with personal features, a personal destiny, each having his own life to live. The capital was substantially the same whether the mines were in operation or idle, but the labor ceased to exist, and only Human Beings remained, when the miners dropped their tools.

It is only when we learn that "capital" represents material interests, interests to be fostered and guarded, but none the less

entirely subordinate to the control of organized society, and when we learn that "labor" means human beings, created to participate with God in the work of creation and to enjoy all the freedom of which life is capable, that we shall deliberately enter upon the adjustment of material forces with one end in view, and one only, the highest service that *things can render to men*.

We shall then better understand the right of "labor" to express its desires regarding legislation. Labor is not a distinct and separate force in society, labor is a part of the public: Capital is not. Capital is only one of the means of enriching that public of which the laborers constitute a portion.

While the award of the Coal Strike Commission is interpreted as a victory for the miners the material advantage to them was small.

The only gains of any deep significance were a shorter work day and a principle, but these were of incalculable importance.

A shorter work day means education, higher morals, better health, self-government, the culture growing out of home and family associations. This principle was recognized in the free cities and communities of Europe during the three or four centuries of the so-called Middle Ages, before empire and military burdens crushed art out of labor and reduced men to serfs. In nearly all trades the work day was eight hours, with a Saturday half-holiday, and the wages were higher compared with the cost of living than the wages of the workmen of average skill in America to-day. When organized labor becomes insistent it may be well for the public to remember that the granting of those demands would be but the restoration of what has been taken from men by the power of special privilege protected by unjust laws.

One of our foremost educators has recently expressed impatience that the "working class" are always demanding shorter days of labor. He argues that all the available hours of the day should be filled with toil, that men should desire to work as many, not as few, hours as possible. We shall never do any intelligent thinking in this matter until we recognize that

there are two kinds of labor: that in which the creative element is present, and that from which it is almost or entirely excluded. Doctors, lawyers, clergymen, and those of other professions are not asking for legislation to protect them from working more than eight hours a day, because their work is largely self-directed. It is of a creative nature, and inspires the worker in the doing.

It is not so with work which is purely mechanical, or which has been reduced to a dull monotony by the pressure of commercial competition, so that it calls out none of the divine creative faculties of a man. No man should be doomed to spend his entire life in labor entirely devoid of the creative principle, but so long as men are under such compulsion the slavery should be made as light as possible by legislative protection.

The principle won from the contest by the American people was the principle propounded by Abraham Lincoln in his Message to Congress, December 3, 1861. It is in the discussion of the effort which is being made "to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor, in the structure of the government." "It is assumed," he said, "that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. . . . Now there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed; nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless. Labor is prior to, and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration." It is this emphasis upon the value of human life, this exaltation of the rights of man regardless of his position or affiliation with capital interests or organized labor interests, that has rendered this event one of the most, if indeed not the most, significant in the industrial history of the world.

That this or any other arbitration of the differences that arise between capital interests and human laborers, will be

able to establish permanent industrial peace, I am not so sanguine as to believe.

Will men be content to toil under ground indefinitely for a fixed wage, to bring to the surface that which enriches the holders of the special privilege of ownership, out of all due proportion to the service rendered to society by capital? I have more faith in what William Watson has called a "broad and generous discontent" than to believe it.

The present competitive strain, pitting human life against inanimate gold, or insensate machinery, in the markets of the world, cannot produce social harmony. The contest is entirely unequal, and "Free Competition," the dream of our orthodox fathers in Political Economy, has already been proven an unsubstantial fiction, and the last decade has witnessed its fall in the temples of economic faith. So long as man must enter the lists against money which neither hungers nor thirsts, with his own hunger to goad him on, and the love of liberty to inspire him, and the cry of his own offspring to tip the balance in the day of trial, there will be strikes and labor disturbances, varied in demonstration only by the specific conditions in which they arise. One of these powers must gain supremacy.

Henry Clay saw this fifty years ago when he announced his belief that "The true solution of the contest for all time between labor and capital is that capital should own the laborer, whether white or black."

There are three possible conditions of "labor:" First—Slave Labor. Second—Wage Labor. Third—Free Labor. Henry Clay tells us that under the first there is industrial peace. Let slaves be kept ignorant enough, isolate them from all experience in personal initiative or the free use of their powers, keep them toiling solely under direction from without, and industrial peace is sure. We know that under the second condition—wage labor—there is perpetual war. From the lowest stratum of wage labor to the highest contention and discontent are almost ubiquitous. Whether from excessive hardship among the poorer paid, or from an ambition to improve conditions

among the better paid, we know that not a day now passes that does not record somewhere a labor conflict, the interruption of business, often the destruction of property and life.

What ought we then to do? The moral intelligence of the race forbids a return to the peace of slave labor. An increasing number of people are becoming dissatisfied with the perpetual conflict growing out of the competitive nature of wage labor. Our political history affords a suggestion. There was a time when those who were not the government became the government, when those who had no authority assumed authority, and out of a rebellion in an Empire our American Republic was born. The statesmen of the world knew it could never be done, but the fact of accomplishment shattered the theories of the ages. Having taken the first two steps in our industrial development may we not be justified in attempting the next step? May we not be justified in seeking to apply to our industrial life that principle which our forefathers applied to political life—the principle of democracy—thus making labor free?

President John Mitchell recently said—"I am one who believes that the time is not far distant when the workingman will have to solve the labor problem. I am free to say that my own views have somewhat changed since the strike. I look forward to the time when those who build the mansions will not have to live in the hovels. I look forward to the time when those whose labor builds the beautiful edifices, whose spires point heavenward, will not have to walk past them too ragged to enter. I look forward to the time when the workers of our country will take possession of their own country." In the coal regions were coördinated men of a dozen nationalities, alien in language and customs, one only in the welding of a common interest—the interest of the defenceless ones who looked to them for life—binding them into one vital force. As we mingled with them on the streets and in their homes and at the business sessions in their halls, and listened to their appeals in broken English for order and peace, listened also to their determination to patiently wait the issues of the future

for their vindication, that they were not drunken as the public had been led to suppose, but were filled with another kind of spirit—this stupendous uprising impressed us as being the pentecostal demonstration of a cosmic upheaval, heralding the approach of that great day.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY.

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THE RISING TIDE OF SOCIAL RIGHTEOUSNESS.

THE modern world is at present alert along the lines of economic and sociologic research, to make tangible many practical reforms for which time has matured society and which were more or less implied, and even germinated, in civilization centuries ago. Whatever evolutionary stages were necessary in Nature to enable the intellect and conscience of man to attain to these concepts and conditions, certain it is that the foremost minds and hearts in the best centers of each past age have predicted and even partly anticipated these coming human ameliorations. We can see the tender chord of noble consideration and divine equity that touched the princely conscience of an East Indian Rhama, and crystallized in the sublime unselfishness of the Hebrew Christ; caught up in the Greek purity of a Socrates or Plato; the broad humanity of a Roman Gracchus and Aurelius; the tender sympathies of a St. John and St. Francis; the moral heroism of a Savonarola, a Huss, a Luther, or a Wickliff; the political heroism of a Hampden, Cromwell, Washington or John Brown.

By whatever biological unfoldment from blind and crude egotism the "brotherhood" concept has grown, first to the control or suppression of individual selfishness in the more cohesive family adjustment, to the outlying clan and state—certain it is that altruistic unity is extending its concept with the earth's geographical unification, out from the brotherhood of a few under one earthly father to all under one Heavenly Father; to children in one cave or tent; to patriarchal clusters of tents; to groups of patriarchs in tribes; to tribes in cities, cities in states, and states in one planetary home, bound perhaps onward to an eternal "Spiritual City." The larger and more complex the groups, of course, the slower and more delicate the adjustments of brotherhood. But that the idea and ideal are steadily advancing, not merely as an ethically "Christian" but broadly cosmic consciousness, no sane observer should deny.

Yet that the relics of our barbarism and brutality hold over in many social and economic conditions is equally clear. At both private and public tables something of the old animal rapacity and greed is still in evidence. But improved parentage, at the first, is prohibiting the older or stronger brothers from snatching and monopolizing from younger and weaker brothers; humanizing etiquette is even establishing as the condition of an acceptable "gentleman" the ability to show extra consideration for the weakness of sex, for the extremity of age, or for the inexperience of youth. We will not in general allow one family outwardly and obviously to over-reach and oppress another family in a city, or stronger cities to oppress other cities in a state, or stronger states to oppress weaker ones in a republic. And international law is already crystallizing world conscience and conviction in response to the shock of indignation and disgust with which mankind as a whole revolts against the spirit of greed and avarice in any nation which browbeats and robs a less materially powerful brother nation. We have but to recall the force of this opinion in lately withdrawing the allied armies from China and Venezuela, in liberating Cuba, in protesting against the brutality in Russia and Manila, and in discounting English character, morality, and public honor for outraging the Boer Republics.

Hence all such disgraceful outlawry in any private or public group is inevitably cloaked in sophistical pretexts to hide its inner depravity. Political hypocrisy is a compliment which political vice pays to social and political virtue and to cosmic conscience.

The very fulness and closeness with which mankind is coming to know the earth as a whole and value the very contributions of its subdivisions historically and socially, by bonds of interdependent commerce, communication, and travel, is hastening this world solidarity and brotherhood.

But, strange to say, the one field in which Christian courtesy and cosmic conscience are most retarded and flagrantly abused to-day, in all lands, is that of "class" relationship. It is the most inveterate plague-spot, the most persistent cancer of so-

cial injustice, reflecting its inhumanity and unchristianity in a horde of false and vicious conventions, legalities, and absurd affectations. We need not cite East Indian depravity in this regard to witness how long and bitterly this social leprosy has afflicted mankind; for is not Europe writhing still under its wretched duplicities, impositions, and cruelties? And even free "republican" America has again caught the Bourbon spirit, and her parvenu plutocracy is already striving to ape the diseased and decadent aristocracy of the old régime.

It is true that the most morally advanced and enlightened democracies to-day, such as Switzerland, France, New Zealand, and the purest sections of the United States, are slowly "ringing in" the Higher Humanity, and are striving to "let the ape and tiger die."

Is not the vanity of snobbery the very tap-root and foster-mother of most crooked economic privilege and oblique legislative cruelty by which men still insult the Divine Authority and Fatherhood by robbing and despoiling their brethren at the great table God has spread for His children in Nature? Here His own sacred words fall with terrible and telling severity: "There is One Father, even God; and ye all are brethren." "Who maketh thee to differ from another, and what hast thou that thou hast not received?" There is now no difference between Jew and Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free; for the same Lord over all is rich to all who call on Him." While to the plutocrat he says: "Ye that are strong should bear the burden of the weak, not please yourselves;" and to the pillars of conventional religion and society he cries: "Ye hypocrites! first be reconciled to your brothers; then come offer thy gifts."

It is to the rectification of these cruel, blind disabilities and artificial injustices that modern "scientific" and (truly) "Christian Socialism" is summoning us to-day, warning society of its sacred role, its inevitable moral and material obligations to its fellows—a role in which every humane and conscientious being must ultimately enlist, whether he will or no; for the questions proposed of economic justice, legal equity, essential manhood, intrinsic democracy, and Christianity are the most burn-

ing and immanent to-day—the most vital, heroic, insistent, and trenchant that Deity in evolution is forcing upon us, however we hedge or prevaricate.

Let us take heed lest in blindness and prejudice toward their call we be found fighting against God. If we suffered so for black slavery, what shall we suffer for the enslavement of children, women, and our own white fellow-citizens?

JOHN WARD STIMSON.

Nordhoff, California.

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. FLOWER.

ALL THE WORLD FOR ALL THE PEOPLE.

"The hour has struck for hoisting the 'All for All.'"

—*Victor Hugo.*

To each epoch in the history of an upward-moving race is given a new word or message which if heeded lifts civilization to a higher plane of vantage-ground, while across the pillar of fire which ever floats in the intellectual heaven of a virile civilization is written a new legend for the inspiration of the leaders and the guidance of the people. The eighteenth century gave to western civilization her marching orders in the demand for political emancipation and the recognition of the people as the true source of government. The new and luminous ideal which came with the new order and which was summed up in the three words, Justice, Freedom, and Fraternity, was big with promise of happiness, peace, and development for the race.

The twentieth century, through the voices of millions of thinking men and women, is uttering a new and equally august message, embodying the demand that political emancipation shall be supplemented by economic emancipation, and that the despotism of the dollar or the new theory of commercial feudalism, which seems to assume the divine right of wealth and which would elevate vested interests above the rights of man and the sanctity of human life, shall be forever overthrown, even as the eighteenth century exploded the age-long and triple delusion of the divine right of kings to mastership over the people, of priests to enslave the reason, and of a hereditary aristocracy to oppress the millions and enjoy special privileges.

The sunlight of popular education and the pervasive spirit of democracy are at once dispelling the fogs of darkness born of centuries of superstition, ignorance, and injustice, and strengthening the mental vision of the people, so that the masses are coming to see that this grand old world, instead of being the property of the few, belongs by right to all the common children of the common Father; that to exclude the many from

her bounties or for the few to assume ownership of the land and the hoarded wealth of the earth is to exile the millions of God's children from the richly laden festal board which He has spread for all. Nay, more. It is to condemn them to a species of slavery that the few may squander what the millions need.

Hence, from the marble mountains and citrous groves of fair Italy; from the orange orchards, the flower-laden gardens, and the vine-clad fields of sunny France; from the castle-crested banks of the picturesque Rhine, eastward, even beyond the Dnieper, the Don, and the Volga; from the land of Hampden and Milton, of Pitt and Gladstone, of Dickens and Burns, to the antipodes where the splendid daughters of Britannia have become the glory of the southern seas, and from every quarter of our own republic, even from the forest-fringed northern lands to the orange groves of the far south; from the populous centers of the Atlantic to the fastnesses of the Rockies and the Sierras, and beyond; from the rose-hung cottages and fruit embowered homes of the Pacific states, comes the civilization-wide demand and declaration, "All the world for all the people."

Hugo was right when, with the vision of a seer and the voice of a prophet, he exclaimed: "The hour has struck for hoisting the 'All for All.'" Yes, the moment has arrived when it is the duty of every man and woman of conscience to resolutely demand that the reign of privilege and class, like that of kings and aristocracies, shall give place to true democracy based on political and economic freedom. We are at this moment in the midst of one of the greatest struggles for supremacy between two world-wide ideals, as diametrically opposed as light is to darkness, which has ever been waged. Reaction and egotism are battling against freedom and the altruistic spirit of democracy with a determination and tenacity never hitherto equalled. But because the conflict under the new order has been transferred from the field of physical force to the mental plane, and because the multitudinous agencies of reaction and egoism are striving in every way to divert the attention of the masses from the fundamental issues involved and to lull the fears of the people with party slogans and misleading shibboleths, many fail to realize that a momentous conflict is in progress. And few indeed appreciate that upon the issue of the struggle hinges the destiny of civilization. If reaction prevails, if the materialistic commercial feudalism of the New World and the reactionary governmental and religious ideals of Continental Europe triumph over free and enlightened democracy,

our civilization must go the way of Egypt, Syria, Persia, Greece, and Rome; for history emphasizes no truth more impressively than that so solemnly expressed by the greatest living poet of democracy in these lines:

No house can stand, no kingdom can endure,
Built on the crumbling rocks of self-desire;
Nothing is living stone, nothing is sure,
That is not whitened in the social fire.

The soul of the people has been overlong drugged with a most vicious opportunism. The appeals have been to shortsighted self-interest. Expediency has been elevated to the throne of Justice, and the ideal of might has too often supplanted the ideal of right, until even the great republic has become a camp-follower in the march of enlightened progress. Hence the duty devolving upon all lovers of justice, freedom, and large-hearted humanitarianism, and upon practical idealists calls for that consecration and utter disinterestedness which flamed up in the souls of Eliot, Pym, and Hampden and through them saved England from a night-time of reaction and despotism; which burned brightly in the brain of Otis, of Hancock, and of Adams, of Henry and of Jefferson, crystallizing in the Declaration of Independence and triumphing in the birth of the republic; and which later awoke in the heart of Garrison, of Phillips, and of Whittier, summoning the conscience of the nation to the bar of eternal justice and culminating in the destruction of chattel slavery.

Such is the spirit that democracy demands from every loyal friend of free institutions to-day. The master note struck by Jesus when he enunciated the Golden Rule, and which his whole life as well as his teachings emphasized, has become the overmastering or dominating political as well as ethical concept in the minds of the practical idealists, the altruistic statesmen, and the true leaders of the twentieth century. Thus the dream of universal brotherhood, in spite of the rampant egoism and crass materialism of the hour, never loomed so largely on the world's horizon as at present.

"All the world for all the people." From the darkness of remote ages man has slowly, haltingly, toilsomely struggled toward this ideal. The history of civilization is the story of the conflict between the darkness and the light, the spirit of reaction and the genius of progress; between egoism and altruism; between the concept that the earth is for the stronger or the most crafty and unscrupulous, and the ideal that it is the common heritage of a common Father for the use of all His children.

From the absolutism of the Oriental despots to the modified tyranny of a Cæsar, a Czar or an Emperor; from the crimes of these incarnations of injustice to the oppressions of a limited monarchy; from limited monarchy to the political revolution and partial emancipation of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and from these revolutions to the present demand for economic emancipation, or equality of opportunities and of rights for all the people and the realization of the ideal of Justice, Freedom, and Fraternity, we see the steady rise of man toward the supreme goal. "All the world for all the people."

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THE FIELD AGAINST MAYOR JOHNSON.

Never in the history of modern politics have all the plutocratic elements been so united as they are in their determination to overwhelmingly defeat Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland in this month's election. Every corrupt public service corporation, every grasping monopoly, every influence enjoying special privileges, every man or corporation hoping for enrichment at the expense of the people, every political boss who has been associated with corrupt practises in party machine manipulations, and all the grafters are with one accord fighting the Mayor of Cleveland; and at their beck and call is every newspaper and public opinion-forming influence that can be owned or controlled by unlimited wealth or appeals to the personal ambition, vanity and greed of weak natures. Never has a venal press made a more disgraceful campaign of virulent misrepresentation, slander, and falsification than that which has marked the present contest in Ohio.

Telegrams to the Boston *Herald* on September 13, frankly admit the overwhelming odds against which the Mayor of Cleveland is conducting almost single-handed, his battle against plutocracy and reaction. The following extracts from dispatches from leading cities of Ohio give the views of experts:

His opponents here make no secret of their plans to help him nominate the most obnoxious legislative and county candidates possible, with the expectation that defeat will be so crushing that Johnson will be eliminated from Democratic politics.

The best indication of sentiment in this section is the fact that Democratic leaders in Butler county, always regarded as a rock-ribbed Democratic stronghold, now concede that the Republicans will carry it by a

substantial majority. The situation is simply that every influence not identified with Johnson has tacitly combined to load him down with every burden, and that every effort will be made to crush him under the most signal disaster ever known in the state.

Old-time politicians contend that Johnson will be defeated by 100,000. The conservative Democrats are against Johnson, while the free silver element is sulking because of the indorsement of Clarke, a pronounced gold man, for United States Senator. With the farmers, the free silverites and the conservative members of the party against Johnson, or indifferent, it seems absolutely settled that he is doomed to overwhelming defeat.

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Johnson is carrying on his campaign unaided. His organization in Cleveland is doing all the work. No eastern Democrats are making speeches for him, Bryan and Henry George, Jr., being the extent of the outside talent.

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Conservative Democrats are not in line with the party in Ohio, this year, and men who before '96 were leaders this year predict an overwhelming Republican majority for Herrick, estimated at from 100,000 to 110,000.

When nominated Mayor Johnson declared that he had no expectation of election, but he accepted the post to prevent the party passing into the hands of plutocratic, reactionary, and undemocratic influences, and because he thought there was a possibility of carrying the legislature so that the carnival of high-handed, unrepugnant, and capitalistic legislation that has recently marked the politics of Ohio under the mastery of the corporations, directed by Senator Hanna and Boss Cox, might be checked. If Mr. Johnson is defeated by more than one hundred and ten thousand votes—which is the minimum of what the opposition expects, it will afford another striking illustration of how powerfully the plutocracy is entrenched in our government. If he is defeated by less than one hundred thousand majority, he will have secured a great moral victory.

Every possible effort has been made by the plutocratic press to obscure the political issues in this campaign. Formerly these hirelings of reaction and predatory wealth denounced Mr. Bryan because he represented free silver. Mr. Johnson never was a free silver man, but he is opposed to government of the corporations, by the corporations, for the exploitation of the people. He is opposed to corrupt politics and to unjust taxation. Hence he has been slandered and misrepresented in every conceivable manner. The truth is, and this fact should be insisted upon by every friend of republican institutions, the subsidized press no less than the plutocracy that owns it body and

soul, opposed Mr. Bryan, not because of free silver, but because he stood for popular rule against the government of classes; he represented democracy as opposed to plutocracy. They oppose Mr. Johnson for precisely the same reasons. In Massachusetts the same elements in all parties united against the Hon. George Fred Williams. They sneered at and sought to destroy the influence of Governor Pingree, for no other reason than because he sought to maintain self-respecting manhood in a period of great economic depression by furnishing work to those who sought employment, and also because he antagonized the aggressions of the railroads and other corrupt public service corporations. And to-day this same element, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is openly or tacitly opposing and sneering at the brave and fearless statesman who occupies the executive chair in Wisconsin, simply because Governor La Follette has bravely and determinedly stood by the people against the shameful and unjust oppression of the railroad corporations. Governor La Follette has shown that the people of Wisconsin are being robbed of millions of dollars a year that they should enjoy through the railroads. He has behind him the railroad commissioners of the State; yet so powerful has been the influence of the corrupt railroad lobby in Wisconsin that it has been impossible for the people to secure relief, on account of the perfidy of their own representatives and because they do not yet possess those most imperative present-day demands of republican government—the Initiative and Referendum.

The arrogant plutocracy of to-day and its great and powerful press, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, are seeking as they have sought for the past decade to utterly destroy the political life of every man who proves himself superior to the numerous direct and indirect forms of bribery, and who stands loyally at all times for the interests of the people against the unjust demands of predatory wealth.

On the other hand, the self-seeking politicians who are profuse in their promises to the voters and are voluble in glittering generalities, but who are ever ready to accept favors from the railroad corporations, in the form of free passes, special trains, wines, etc., and thereby obligate themselves to their real masters, can confidently count on enormous campaign funds to insure their elections.

If Jefferson or Lincoln were in the political arena to-day; every one of the hirelings of plutocracy, every Wall Street voice, every public service magnate, every trust beneficiary or

attorney for predatory wealth, every political boss and grafter, would join with the subsidized press in the most brazen and infamous misrepresentations, slanders, and ridicule, such as in recent years has been heaped upon Mr. Bryan, Governor Pin-gree, Mayor Johnson, Governor La Follette, and other incorruptible friends of the people.

* * *

JUSTICE THE DIVINE WORD OF OUR EPOCH.

Republicanism is at the parting of the ways; democracy is in the balance. Its supremacy or eclipse is dependent on its prompt and unreserved allegiance to the call of Justice—that wholesome justice that demands for all others the same equality of opportunities and of rights that we demand for ourselves.

Every great epoch is dominated by some ideal or word, concisely epitomizing the imperative demand of progress, if the civilization or nation to which it comes is to move forward and to grow in true greatness. The last great epoch sounded many charmed words, but its dominating or most imperative demand was Freedom. It proclaimed liberty in the sphere of politics, religion, and the mind, and this liberty was absolutely necessary to precede the broader and truer conception of justice which the recognition of the solidarity of the race and the common rights of the common children of the common Father render logical and, indeed, imperative.

The last revolutionary movement only partially realized the dream of the prophets; for after the triumph of freedom came a reactionary movement dominated by egoism. The old hydra of Oppression began to rear again its heads. In one place the idea of the divine right of kings began to again assert itself. In other places that of birth and caste assumed superiority. Here the ancient religious dogmas and superstitions became increasingly arrogant, and in the more democratic lands wealth assumed prerogatives that in other days and nations had been arrogated by the throne, the aristocracy, and the priesthood. All these influences were alike reactionary. All aimed in various subtle ways to turn back the hand on the dial plate, to gain for the few, for classes or special sects, superior power and rights based on privilege, and thus to defeat the fundamental demand of freedom and democracy—the equality of op-

portunities and of rights. All were prompted either by egoism, reaction, or fanaticism. All sought to evade or push aside the new and supreme demand—that of justice—even-handed justice for all God's children. And how industriously to-day are the reactionaries seeking at once to make democracy a cloak for class rule or despotism, and to bind to the wheels of reaction and privilege the church, the college, and the press, while diverting the mind of the people from the fundamental issues at stake!

Never in the history of the world have there been more amazing examples of lavish expenditure on the part of predatory wealth for purposes apparently progressive and philanthropic than have marked the past generation. On every side representatives of classes who have acquired untold millions through privilege, gambling, oppression, or other forms of indirection are posing in the robes of philanthropy. Millions are given for educational institutions; millions to the church; millions for charitable purposes, and yet the sum total of all these lavish bids for perpetual mastership on the part of the few represents but a moiety of the wealth wrung unjustly from its creators. This ostentatious giving serves plutocracy the double purpose of blinding the mental vision of the thoughtless while making the church, the school, and other beneficiaries a part of plutocracy's retinue—the servants of reaction—used to defeat the ends of justice and render possible the continuance of the social and commercial anarchy that has reigned and ever will reign while egoism is more powerful than altruism in the public consciousness or national life.

The divine word of the present epoch is Justice, and only Justice can save our civilization from disintegrating and going the way of all past civilizations, or from violent cataclysms such as marked the most bloody period of the French Revolution.

John Ruskin, one of the greatest moral leaders of the nineteenth century, never uttered truer or more timely words than the following in which he arraigns the pseudo-charity of present-day wealth, and unmasks the sophistry of its apologists:

It is the law of heaven that you shall not be able to judge what is wise or easy, unless you are first resolved to judge what is just, and to do it. That is the one thing constantly reiterated by our master—the order of all others that is given oftenest: "Do justice and judgment." That's your Bible order; that's the "service of God." The one divine work—the one ordered sacrifice—is to do justice; and it is the

last we are ever inclined to do. Anything rather than that. As much charity as you choose, but no justice. "Nay," you will say, "charity is greater than justice." Yes, it is greater; it is the summit of justice; it is the temple of which justice is the foundation. But you can't have the top without the bottom; you cannot build upon charity? You must build upon justice, for this main reason, that you have not, at first, charity to build with. It is the last reward of good work. It is all very fine to think you can build upon charity to begin with; but you will find all you have got to begin with begins at home, and is essentially love of yourself.

You well-to-do people will go to "Divine Service" next Sunday, all nice and tidy, and your little children will have their tight little Sunday boots on, and lovely little Sunday feathers in their hats; and you'll think, complacently and piously, how lovely they look! and you love them heartily, and you like sticking feathers in their hats. That's all right; that is charity; but it is charity beginning at home. Then you will come to the poor little crossing-sweeper got up also in its Sunday dress—the dirtiest rags it has, that it may beg the better; we shall give it a penny, and think how good we are. That's charity going abroad. But what does justice say, walking and watching near us? Christian justice has been strangely mute, and seemingly blind; and, if not blind, decrepit, this many a day; she keeps her accounts still, however—quite steadily—doing them at nights, carefully, with her bandage off, and through acutest spectacles (the only modern scientific invention she cares about). You must put your ear down ever so close to her lips to hear her speak; and then you will start at what she first whispers, for it will certainly be, "Why shouldn't that little crossing-sweeper have a feather on its head, as well as your own child?" Then you may ask justice, in an amazed manner, how she can possibly be so foolish as to think children could sweep crossings with feathers on their heads? Then you stoop again, and justice says, still in her dull, stupid way: "Then, why don't you, every other Sunday, leave your child to sweep the crossing, and take the little sweeper to church in a hat and feather?" Mercy on us (you think), what will she say next? And you answer, of course, that you don't, because everybody ought to remain content in the position in which Providence has placed them.

Ah, my friends, that's the gist of the whole question. Did Providence put them in that position, or did you? You knock a man into a ditch, and then you tell him to remain content in the "position in which Providence has placed him." That's modern Christianity. You say, "We did not knock him into the ditch." How do you know what you have done or are doing? That's just what we have all got to know, and what we shall never know until the question with us every morning is, not how to do the gainful thing, but how to do the just thing.

These words should sink into the consciousness of every man, woman, and child who to-day is echoing the pernicious plati-

tudes put into the mouths of the people by editors and others in the service of privilege and reaction, and which ignore the underlying demands of democracy, of religion, and of human rights in the attempt to bolster up a reactionary class movement based on privilege and destructive to the very genius of free government. *Justice first*, then charity for the few who need it; Justice, broad, even-handed Justice, that demands nothing less than equality of opportunities and rights for all the children of God, and which insists that the church shall take Jesus seriously and stand or fall by the Golden Rule.

* * *

WAGES AND THE COST OF LIVING.

The special pleaders for corporations and trusts have made a great deal of capital out of the fact that between 1897 and 1901 the wages in New York City have in sixteen trades risen from an average of \$2.78 to \$2.91 a day, and this fact has been broadly heralded throughout Great Britain as an argument in favor of protection and monopoly. But these special pleaders for plutocracy fail to mention another fact, and one which entirely changes the nature of the case. They fail to state that during this period the cost of living in the Empire city increased ten per cent. above the increase in wages, while since 1901 the cost of living has steadily risen. Dunn's agency places the increase at over thirty-three per cent.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.*

THE INFLUENCE OF EMERSON. By Edwin D. Mead. Cloth. Pp. 304. Price \$1.20 net. Boston, The American Unitarian Association.

A BOOK STUDY.

Mr. Mead is one of the most tireless and efficient servants of true civilization. His influence is always felt on the side of justice, freedom, and the larger life that the truest prophets and leaders are seeking to instill into the brain and soul of our people. He writes much and speaks frequently, and always to the purpose. Seldom, if ever, does his thought fail to ring clear and true. But nowhere, we think, do his fine scholarship and broad, wholesome ethical concepts appear to such advantage as in this new work, "The Influence of Emerson."

Here in the compass of over three hundred pages, the philosophy of the Concord sage is luminously examined and epitomized, after which in two lengthy discussions, one on "Emerson and Theodore Parker," and the other on "Emerson and Carlyle," the thought of the greatest of American philosophers is further examined. The work is the result of years of study and represents the ripe fruition of the thought of a sympathetic and philosophical critic. Mr. Mead holds that Emerson is "our greatest philosopher, perhaps our only great philosopher . . . ever approaching the problem of the universe, both from the soul side and the nature side, ever standing confident and patient in the presence of the Sphinx."

Yet he clearly points out that the great masters of philosophy, from Plato down, are at heart one. "There is," he tells us, "almost nothing new in Emerson's philosophy. We are everywhere in the same philosophic atmosphere which we breathe with Plato and Plotinus, and with the post-Kantian idealists. Everything easily falls into harmony with the great Greeks and the great Germans."

The universe, according to Emerson, was an embodiment of God. "There seems to be a necessity in spirit," he observes, "to manifest itself in material forms; and day and night, river and storm, beast and bird, acid and alkali, pre-exist in necessary Ideas in the mind of God, and are what they are by virtue of preceding affections in the world of spirit. . . . Intellect is primary; nature, secondary; it is the memory of the mind. That which once existed in intellect as pure law has now taken body in Nature. It existed already in the mind in solution; now it has been precipitated, and the bright sediment is the world."

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

This, as Mr. Mead points out, is pure Plato. Again, the idea that "everything in the phenomenal world takes place at once mechanically and metaphysically" is shown by our author to be a reflex of the thought of the great German transcendentalists. "A perfect parallelism," Emerson says, almost in the words of Liebnitz, and in the precise thought of Hegel, "exists between nature and the laws of thought." "The whole of nature agrees with the whole of thought."

If, however, Emerson was in perfect accord with the world's greatest philosophers and metaphysicians, he was thoroughly out of tune with the religious concepts of his day. How heterodox to the literalists who enjoyed Watts's hymns, Milton's "Paradise Lost," and Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom," must these words have sounded: "Beauty in its largest and profoundest sense, is one expression for the universe. God is the All-fair. Truth and goodness and beauty are but different faces of the same All."

Our author in discussing Emerson's ideals eloquently answers the narrow visionaries and crass materialists of the day who sneer at idealism as something impractical. He well observes:

"The positivist's appeal to the idealist to leave his idealism to strengthen the ranks of reform and regenerate society is irony's *ne plus ultra*. Its answer is Moses and the prophets; its answer is Christ and the church; its answer is Luther and Calvin and John Knox; its answer is Cromwell and Milton and Vane, Plymouth Rock, and Bunker Hill; its answer is Rousseau and Turgot, the voice of Fichte amid Napoleon's drums, Cobden and the Corn-law Rhymers, Mazzini and Gladstone; its answer is Garrison, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the scaffold of John Brown; its answer is the Transcendental Movement in New England."

From twelve to twenty years before the "Origin of Species" appeared, Emerson in a striking way anticipated, often in similar phrase, Darwinism. On this point Mr. Mead says:

"But nothing could so strikingly illustrate the truth that the method of thought is the method of nature as what is called the 'Darwinism' of Emerson himself—the anticipations and clear expression everywhere of that view of development which our science has adopted and made so cardinal. Of this Darwinism in Emerson much has been made, yet not too much. Darwinism, as we have already noticed, was made the very motto of 'Nature' twenty years before 'The Origin of Species' was written. 'Nature' is full of Darwinism.

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"Half a dozen years later he says: 'We can point nowhere to anything final, but tendency appears on all hands; planet, system, constellation, total nature is growing like a field of maize in July, is becoming somewhat else. The embryo does not more strive to be man than yonder burr of light we call a nebula tends to be a ring, a comet, a globe, and a parent of new suns.' This process of evolution, he says, 'publishes itself in creatures, reaching from particles to spicula, through transformation on transformation, to the highest symmetries, arriving at consummate results without a shock or a leap. * * * How far off is the trilobite, how far the quadruped! All duly arrive, and then race after race of men. It is a long way from granite to oyster; farther yet to Plato, and the preaching of the immortality of the soul. Yet all must come, as surely as the first atom has two sides.'

This, note, twenty years before men heard of Darwinism. 'In ignorant ages,' says Emerson, 'it was common to vaunt the human superiority by underrating the instinct of other animals. Better discernment finds that the only difference is of less and more.' Again, 'Tis a long scale from the gorilla to the gentleman—from the gorilla to Plato, Newton, Shakespeare—to the sanctities of religion, to the refinements of legislation, to the summits of science, art, and poetry. The beginnings are slow and infirm, but 'tis an always accelerated march.'

"Passages of this sort could of course be multiplied indefinitely. The reference in 'Bacchus' to the ascent of life from form to form still remains incomparable, as Mr. Stedman has observed, for terseness and poetic illumination:

"I, drinking this,
Shall hear far Chaos talk with me;
Kings unborn shall walk with me;
And the poor grass shall plot and plan
What it will do when it is man."

Very luminous and interesting is our author's discussion of Darwinism in Emerson's essay on "Nature," which appeared twenty years before "The Origin of Species" was published. Though he agrees with John Morley that evolution as a positive explanation of the order of the universe is a great deal older than either Emerson or Darwin, yet he shows that the point of interest is that "Emerson spoke about evolution in entirely new phrase; and it was no mere 'good fortune' by which his strong propositions harmonize with 'the new and most memorable drift of science which set in by his side,' as Mr. Morley clearly recognizes they do. It was the 'fatal gift of penetration' which enabled him to see and to proclaim early and in universals that which was in the air and which Darwin presently should avouch in particulars."

Emerson's large faith, grounded in sane and sound philosophy, was absolutely necessary to stem the growing current of skepticism and essential materialism that had long been manifest in the church no less than throughout society at large. No graver mistake can be made than to regard the great transcendentalists as the authors of the widespread skepticism of the nineteenth century. The doom of the old religious concepts was sounded even before the demonstrations of Copernicus, Galileo and Kepler, Newton's discovery of the law of gravitation, and the successive and dazzling revelations in physical science, astronomy, and archæology, that have progressed with accelerating rapidity since the dawn of Modern Times. These great discoveries and revelations gave to humanity a new heaven and a new earth and rendered forever untenable to the ordinary enlightened intellect the crude and often absurd dogmas and wonder stories which were born of the unlimited credulity of childhood ages, but which, nevertheless, were shotted with golden threads of truth to such an extent that they had helped the race in many ways to higher intellectual altitudes—had been, in fact, schoolmasters preparing the children of the great Father for a recognition of the large, sane, and more exalting revelations of divine Beauty, Wisdom and Love, which are even now purpling the mental horizon of all those who dare to fearlessly face life's problems and think for themselves.

In referring to the services of Emerson to the cause of sound ethics and the demands of reason in the presence of the larger life of to-day, Mr. Mead says:

"I know of no other thinker who so luminously points out the way to the solution of the sundry antinomies, their reconciliation in a higher synthesis, as Emerson. Freedom and necessity, unity and personality, individualism and commonwealth, transcendence and immanence—as we come into 'intimater intimacy' with the mind of Emerson, the old puzzles puzzle less and less, and we learn to verify and chart what he discovers and declares. Nowhere is the reconciling synthesis more impressive or more useful, more necessary for these times, than in the field of ethics. The reconciliation is between the evolution of institutions and the categorical imperative, between, if we please, Herbert Spencer and Immanuel Kant. Emerson fronts a kinder and more co-operant universe than Kant. Morals he said, while yet a mere boy, and in ever firmer accent with the years, constitute the 'health integrity' of the universe; and morals is the health of the soul, the activity befitting and commanding its nature.

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"The first principles of the Kantian ethics, the three cardinal doctrines of the *Kritik of Practical Reason*, never received such powerful summary statement as in Emerson's famous lines:

"So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When Duty whispers low, *Thou must*,
The youth replies, *I can*."

"Here is the categorical imperative; and here the assurance, *Thou canst, because thou shalt—because thou oughtest*. Obligation measures and defines capacity and freedom; and the absoluteness of the obligation illumines and defines the two great presuppositions—the grandeur of the eternal nature thus commanded, and the completeness of the divine support and guarantee."

And again:

"As soon as every man is apprised of the Divine presence within his own mind—is apprised that the perfect law of duty corresponds with the laws of chemistry, of vegetation, of astronomy, as face to face in a glass; that the basis of duty, the order of society, the power of character, the wealth of culture, the perfection of taste, all draw their essence from this moral sentiment, then we have a religion that exalts, that commands all the social and all the private action.' 'There is a fear,' he says elsewhere, 'that pure truth, pure morals, will not make a religion for the affections.' This fear was foolish, because, as he saw well, biography and history and poetry ever wait on inspiration and in good time bring the ivy. 'Whenever the sublimities of character shall be incarnated in a man, we may rely that law and love and insatiable curiosity will follow his steps.' The history of all in the past which makes just appeal to reverence and devotion is secure, a permanent possession; and new canonizations can only make us richer, and not poorer. No true divinity or saint can ever become less; but no universal truth of God can ever be long dependent, and it can never be contingent, upon any individual bearer or embodiment of it. 'There was a time when Christianity existed in one child; but, if the child had been killed by Herod, would the element have been lost? God sends his message, if not by one, then quite as well by another. When the Master of the Universe has ends to fulfil, he impresses his will on the structure of minds.' There are those who think that but for Jesus

the cardinal truths and influences of what we call, and properly call, Christianity, would not be present among men. The rejection of this view, as concerns not only Christianity, but every great movement in history, in no way derogates from the praise or merit of the thinker or the doer who stands at the forefront of the movement, or from the charm and inspiration of the heroic and prophetic life. It simply affirms that universal truths of God and the supply of humanity's cardinal demands are superior to contingency."

We can easily see how such concepts aroused the savage hostility of creedists and dogmatists. The gospel proclaimed by Jesus in like manner aroused the same class in the old time, because it was thought to destroy or at least to antagonize the teachings of Moses and the prophets. The old order always wars against the larger truth born of the broader vision. Mr. Mead thus refers to the opposition of the church to the philosophical ideals of Emerson:

"With the churches of his time, Emerson came into opposition; but the ground of his opposition concerned what was accidental and extrinsic. 'I object to the claim of miraculous dispensation—certainly not to the *doctrine* of Christianity.' The miraculous claim, to his mind, 'impaired the soundness of him who makes it, . . . it is contrary to that law of nature which all wise men recognize, never to require a larger cause than is necessary to the effect.' It confounded Christianity with 'the fables of every popular religion.' We know divine things only by the like spirit in ourselves, and are repelled by any effort to enforce acceptance of them by wonders or anything extraneous or official instead of by pure sympathy. The attempt to elevate Christ out of humanity 'takes his teachings out of logic and out of nature,' and distrust of the story prompts distrust of the doctrine."

Space forbids our referring to more than one other point taken by our author in this most valuable contribution to present-day vital religious and philosophical thought, and that is the reference to the result of the acceptance by the public of the materialistic evolutionary philosophy as elucidated by the great working naturalists. Emerson viewed the ascent of life from the lofty altitude of a cosmic philosopher. He saw the rise, but also saw behind the physical phenomenon the spiritual potency no less than the constantly increasing illumination of life. He saw the ideal ever urging life upward, and realized that "the fiend that man harries is love of the best." His evolutionary concept was inspiring and lofty, being broad-visioned, wholesome and sane. But the working naturalists depended chiefly upon the phenomenon of life in its lower forms, where egoism is greater than altruism, where the struggle for self is the dominant note. Their vision failed to follow up the gamut of life. Hence they failed to appreciate the steady rise of the spiritual or altruistic elements of existence, which culminate in the struggle for the life and happiness of others overshadowing the struggle for self. Confining their studies to the lower forms of life, their conclusions were necessarily partial and largely erroneous, especially as they related to ethics. One result of this unhappy acceptance by the public of the new theories of life as promulgated by the materialistic naturalists, Mr. Mead points out in the following:

"The prostitution of political ideals which America and England witnessed as the century closed would never have been possible but

for the subtle and pervasive poisoning of the popular consciousness by partial and false doctrines of the principle and character of evolution. Catch-words about 'survival of the fittest,' and notions that the fittest are the strongest and that science had put its imprimatur upon the history of evolution as a history of remorseless competition and chartered dominion by the 'select,'—these have done, and will continue to do, their fatal work. But this is not the true philosophy of evolution. That philosophy comprehends altruism also, and gives its scientific exhibition the larger place, even as it holds the larger and ever-increasing place in life."

The limits of our space render it impossible to further extend our notice of this extremely valuable discussion; but of the essays that fill over two hundred pages and are devoted to a study of the points of agreement and contrast between Emerson and Theodore Parker and between Emerson and Carlyle, we would say that they are quite as pregnant with vital thought as is the first discussion, which we have briefly examined, while for many readers they will hold an additional charm on account of the personal equations that are here presented. They help in a most satisfying and complete way to round out the study of Emerson's thought and its influence on the world.

The work is so rich in virile spiritual truths that we can only wish that it might be placed in every public library in America as well as find a place in the homes of all readers who are not afraid to think.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CENTURY. By John R. Dos Passos. Cloth.
Pp. 242. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This is a thoughtful discussion of an extremely important subject by a scholar well qualified for the work, being a leading metropolitan lawyer and possessing the happy faculty of treating his subject in a lucid and interesting manner. Mr. Dos Passos holds that the government of the United States and those of England and her colonies represent the greatest progressive and democratic currents or influences in the world's national life to-day; that Russia and other more reactionary governments will sooner or later, in all probability, oppose reaction and absolutism against the more progressive and radical powers; that the cause of human emancipation, of true progress and democracy demands the union of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. He does not advocate a defensive and offensive alliance, but he finds a strong sentiment among far-seeing and statesmanlike thinkers on both sides of the Atlantic favorable to a closer relationship between our people and those of the British Empire. Few, however, who have written or discussed the subject have attempted to set forth a working plan for the realization of this union. His discussion is therefore unhackneyed and well calculated to appeal to the imagination and larger patriotism of thoughtful men and women. The work contains seven chapters, in which the subject is ably canvassed and a very definite outline for the proposed union is set forth. The author finds the sympathetic causes or natural reasons for such a union exceedingly strong. First, the Anglo-Saxons are one people, enjoying the same language, literature,

religious thought, laws, legal customs, and general modes of judicial procedure, and in a large way possess similar political institutions, both being permeated by the democratic ideal, while their tastes in regard to habits of living, national sports and pastimes are all similar. The more material or selfish reasons for such a union are equally strong. Commercial and financial relations demand coöperation, while considerations of self-preservation imperatively call for such alliances as will make these democratic peoples impregnable in the presence of reaction.

After a concise survey of the evolution of the English-speaking peoples and a well-considered argument in favor of closer union, Mr. Dos Passos proceeds to consider the practical means of its realization. He believes that Canada would probably be the greatest obstacle to the realization of such an alliance as he conceives to be imperatively demanded, and he argues eloquently for her voluntary incorporation into the American republic, at the same time urging "the establishment of a common interchangeable citizenship between all English-speaking nations and colonies by the abrogation of the naturalization laws of the United States and the British Empire, so that the citizens of each can, at will, upon landing in the other's territory, become citizens of any of the countries dominated by these governments."

He advocates the establishment of an international Supreme Court for the adjudication of all questions that may arise between the different Anglo-Saxon peoples. He would introduce Free Trade between all divisions of the British Empire and the United States, and urges a uniform system of money, differing in designs and mottoes, and interchangeable everywhere within the limits covered by the treaty. In this way, he holds, "a real and permanent consolidation of the Anglo-Saxon peoples will be accomplished, without the destruction or impairment in the least degree of the political autonomy of the individual governments of the United States or of the British Empire, and without departing from any maxims of the international policy of either."

Every point taken by the author is ably sustained with clear and usually convincing reasoning, if one is prepared to accept the author's premises.

On the question of the right of England to wage a war of conquest against the Boers, and that of our republic to carry on a war of subjugation against the Filipinos, Mr. Dos Passos's usually clear mental vision seems to us clouded. The governing principle of justice and the fundamental demands of pure democracy, which in both these instances were so grossly outraged and disregarded, seem to be accepted after the manner of the reactionists and imperialists. Holding as we do that any crime against the fundamentals of free institutions committed by peoples to whom the ark of the covenant of freedom has been confided, must sooner or later bring inevitable punishment, we are not prepared to accept any cry of expediency or to believe that any great question of this character can be settled until it is settled right. Hence this seeming acquiescence of the author in things as they are is disappoint-

ing; nor does it seem to us in harmony with the general temper and spirit of his work. He sees, and even though he is a metropolitan lawyer, has the courage to point out some of the deadly perils of the present, as for example in the following:

We are to-day, and not without some truth, called a purely "dollar nation." Our people are struggling for money, as if that were the only desideratum of life. We forget that religion in its broad sense, liberty, justice, equality, and virtue are more important than money; they are the chains of steel which bind a free people together; mere wealth without these qualities has no preserving power; and if we lose our institutions, in their form or in their spirit, of what use will money be to us, or how will it be protected? . . . Remember that a government based upon gold, wealth, sordidness, must end unhappily. We must have other and higher ideals for our people.

Again, speaking of wealth, he observes:

When, however, it is used to corrupt or influence the judiciary, when it seeks to interfere with or affect legislation; when it subsidises or controls the press; when it severs, instead of combines society; in fine, when it is used as a *substitute for character*, the people must beware; they must quickly intervene and crush it; for the pillars of all free government will then be attacked, and they will experience an oligarchy of wealth—the worst of all oligarchies, and the most destructive of individual liberty.

The volume is an important contribution to a discussion of a possible alliance which, now that England under her present ruler seems disposed to grant justice to Ireland, will probably become more and more widely discussed as the years pass. It is a book for the libraries of thoughtful people interested in the larger questions of contemporaneous life.

THE FORTUNES OF FIFI. By Molly Elliot Seawell. Six full-page illustrations in colors. Cloth. Pp. 240. Price \$1.50. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

This is a charming little romance of humble life under the first Empire. The story concerns a little Italian girl who was found by a French soldier after one of the great battles in the Italian campaign. Her mother was dead, and no relatives could be found. The soldier adopted her and being disabled by a broken leg was compelled to leave the army. He subsequently obtained a position as general utility man in a third-rate theatre known as the Imperial. This soldier, Cartouche by name, watched over the little child with all the love and sympathy of a mother and father, taught her to read, and made many sacrifices for her. She was fifteen years younger than he, but very beautiful, while he was extremely homely of countenance and possessed of a stiff leg. Hence, though he passionately loved the child, who, in time blossomed into beautiful womanhood, he banished all thought of ever marrying her. At length he secured her a position in the company at the Imperial, where she was known as Fifi, she proved to have much histrionic ability and soon became leading lady, but on a pitiful pittance.

The struggles of these two with poverty and the cold are simply but touchingly described. At length the tide turns. The Emperor meets the old soldier, who chanced to be the first to cross the bridge at Lodi. He attends the theatre, becomes interested in Fifi, who, it is learned, is the granddaughter of a cousin of the reigning Pope, then in Paris, where he has come to crown the Emperor. Fifi also draws the grand prize of one hundred thousand francs in a lottery, and at the suggestion of the Pope and the Emperor is placed with a highly respectable and rather prudish maiden lady who undertakes to prepare her to enter society. Cartouche, although the separation takes all the sunshine from his own life, resolutely insists that the lives of the two must lie apart; that Fifi with her fortune will be in a position to marry some person possessing good social standing, but that his presence would be detrimental to her success. He therefore denies himself the pleasure of meeting the girl or even writing her.

To Fifi the new life is intolerable. She has always been in the habit of working, and working hard. Now she has nothing to do. The monotony of existence, however, is relieved by a visit to the Pope, and a touchingly beautiful chapter describes her interview with the elderly prelate, in which the latter recounts his boyhood spent with her grandfather.

A nephew of the chaperone, a young advocate, a pink of propriety—a veritable prig, in fact, appears on the scene as a suitor, the one hundred thousand francs being the real lodestone. He is an insufferable bore, but things so conspire against Fifi that she is swept onward until she finds herself engaged to the young advocate, whom she does not love. Then she rebels. She instinctively knows that the one hundred thousand francs is the attraction that has drawn her lover to her side, and she determines to get rid of the money and force the suitor to renounce his claims. Some deliciously humorous occurrences mark the initial attempts to dissipate her hated fortune, shock her lover and make it possible for her to again return to her beloved attic on the Street of the Black Cat, where Cartouche, the only man she has ever really loved, and her pet dog, Toto, are living lonely lives.

The story ends happily for all in whom the interest of the reader has been aroused, and this is as it should be in a novel written primarily to amuse and entertain. The author's style is graceful and full of charm. There are many epigrams that admirably epitomize facts and philosophy connected with life; and barring the rose-colored picture of the Emperor, the tone and atmosphere of the story are excellent.

In one important respect "The Fortunes of Fifi" is unique among novels. We imagine that at least ninety out of every hundred popular romances that deal with love and beauty hold out wealth and a life of ease and pleasure incident to high social station as a desideratum to be striven for, and for the realization of which much may be surrendered. Here, however, the heroine, beautiful, talented, well born, is always true to the sane and simple life, and is faithful as the magnet to the pole to her benefactor, who, though so much older, so very plain, and

afflicted with a stiff leg, is nevertheless the incarnation of nobility of soul—a man to whom love and duty, honesty and faithfulness are a second nature. Fifi sees these excellencies through the defects that garment the spirit, and loves the beautiful soul with a great and touching affection. She is an altogether charming creation, wholesome and fine, loyal to the ideal of duty, and true to the higher ideal of love. At a time when an overmastering desire on the part of so many of our young people is to get money so that they can evade work and enjoy luxury, it is refreshing to find a bright, simple, fascinating and beautiful heroine deliberately turning from these things to a life of hard work and a far simpler home existence, and refusing the hand of the rising young advocate to wed the homely but noble protector whose unselfishness and loyalty to duty are touchingly set forth.

A JAPANESE GARLAND. By Florence Peltier. Illustrated by Genjiro Yeto. Cloth. Pp. 201. Boston, Lothrop Publishing Company.

The author of this book possesses the rare and happy faculty of being able to fascinate and interest children while informing the youthful mind and filling the mental horizon with wholesome and inspiring imagery. In old times absurdities and puerilities on the one hand and ponderous homilies on the other were considered the proper mental food for children. Naturally enough the juvenile mind inclined to Mother Goose rhymes rather than to the prosy preachments of those who seemed to have forgotten that they had ever been children.

This story deals with a little Japanese boy, Yone, by name, who, being an orphan when four years of age, was adopted by a wealthy American and later brought to the United States. Here he formed some strong child attachments, and at the opening of the tale he has just completed painting in water colors a garland, into which he has woven twelve plants and flowers, which he presents to Marian—a little girl who with her brother David is a great friend of Yone. Marian with the alertness and curiosity of childhood at once desires to know why Yone has incorporated so many different plants and flowers into his garland, and the boy explains that each plant or flower represents one of the months and that there are many interesting facts and legends connected with these different plants. This leads to a demand for stories from Yone, who is a famous little story-teller, as well as an artist. It is arranged that each Saturday afternoon, when the children and their playmates of the neighborhood are tired of their games, Yone shall describe to them some one plant or flower which he has incorporated in his garland and give them the stories and legends connected with it. Then follow some delightful descriptions of the pine, the bamboo, the plum, the cherry, the wisteria, the iris, the lotus, the chrysanthemum, and the maple, together with habits and customs of the Japanese, their love of nature, and their delight in the matchless paintings of the Great Artist as seen in the cherry-robed hillsides, in the plum tree by the homes, in which the

nightingale loves to sing, and in the various flowers so dear to the simple childlike minds of this wonderful people of the Far East.

Here, too, are found some interesting descriptions of how the Japanese arrange their cut flowers artistically, and so that the beauty of the bloom is seen to the best possible advantage; and these fine lessons in nature study and in true art culture are delightfully interspersed with Japanese legends and poetic concepts.

The book has a double interest in that it relates a chapter in the history of a happy group of real children whose play and pastimes form a sweet and simple story in themselves, and also because it contains a cluster of fascinating legends and stories relating to Japanese life that cannot fail to appeal to the imagination of every normal child.

Above and beyond all, there is the practical utility of the work. It inculcates in a most subtle but effective manner a love of the beauty of nature and in a true and wholesome way educates and cultivates the opening intellect and imagination, making it a volume that merits the favor of all thoughtful parents. It is a good book to include among the Christmas presents for the little people.

CONSUMPTION A CURABLE AND PREVENTABLE DISEASE.

By Lawrence F. Flick, M. D. Cloth. Pp. 295. Price \$1.00 net.
Philadelphia, David McKay.

This work is in our judgment by far the best practical and popular treatise on tuberculosis or consumption of the lungs that has appeared on this side of the Atlantic. The author is a scholarly physician, who, as medical director of the Henry Phipps Institute for the Study, Treatment, and Prevention of Tuberculosis, and as president of the Free Hospital for Poor Consumptives of Pennsylvania, has had large practical experience in the investigation and treatment of this all-dreaded scourge. He is also a man of large sympathies. The work therefore possesses the three vital requisites for such a treatise: the theoretical familiarity with the subject; intimate practical knowledge gained by personal experience, and the tender compassion that feels with and for the afflicted.

The book is intended to be a popular handbook and the discussions are free from technical terms or anything that might prove obscure or confusing to the general reader. The discussion is introduced by a presentation of the results following Pasteur's momentous discovery that fermentation is due to life, and the next step, that disease is due to living organisms. The author holds as an established fact that consumption of the lungs results from the presence of three micro-organisms—the tubercle bacillus, the streptococcus, and the staphylococcus, and that these organisms can be and are transmitted through the expectorations of the consumptive, but that there is little danger of the spread of the disease from other sources. Therefore, where proper care is taken, such as he suggests, and which has always proved

effective where employed, there is practically no danger of contagion from consumption.

The nature, character and symptoms of the disease are clearly explained, and the importance of popular knowledge about the best way to prevent its spread is emphasized. Consumption, according to our author, is "probably the direct cause of the death of one-seventh of the human species. . . . In our country it annually carries off one hundred thousand people."

After discussing the subject in a general way, Dr. Flick enters upon the proper treatment of the disease. He holds that consumption is curable—in fact, that people are all the time being cured. In certain cases medicines are valuable, but the chief factors in its cure are found in food, air, sunshine, rest, and exercise. Very reasonable and practical are the chapters devoted to the cure. The food must be such as the system will appropriate with the least effort and which will best nourish the patient. Milk, eggs, and meat he places first in value. He advises one hearty meal a day, preferably at noon, and the taking of milk and raw eggs, with other lighter foods at intervals in the morning and afternoon. Nothing is so destructive to the micro-organisms that produce consumption as fresh air and sunshine. Hence the importance of the patient being in the open air as much as possible. Day and night he should be as nearly as possible in the fresh open air. Rest in many cases is absolutely essential. Exercise during critical stages in the disease is often fatal; yet as the patient improves it is extremely important that he indulge in light exercises, increasing them with great caution.

The work is divided into forty-six short chapters and contains a thorough popular discussion of the subject. It is a book that should be given the widest possible consideration, as the facts contained in it, if generally understood, would tend to greatly lessen the scourge and save many thousands of lives annually.

PROSPECTUS OF THE ARENA FOR 1904.

Arrangements that are already perfected warrant us in announcing as our conviction that in the year 1904 the ARENA will reach the highest point in general excellence that has yet been attained in subject matter and method of treating the same, and in the wide diversity of topics.

STRENGTH, BOLDNESS AND CONSPICUOUS ABILITY WILL MARK ITS CONTRIBUTIONS.—We hold that there never was a moment in the history of our republic when bold, fearless and authoritative discussions of political, economic and social subjects were so urgently demanded as to-day, and the ARENA for next year will be found in the very fore-front in its defence of the fundamental principles of free institutions and in unmasking the evils that are threatening freedom and defeating the ends of justice in America. Several papers of a startling character will be strong features of this review and will, it is believed, do much to arouse thinking men and women everywhere to the real perils and imperative duties of the hour. In addition to the important *Political, Social and Economic* discussions which will be so strong a feature of this magazine, each issue will contain essays of special value from foremost thinkers, on *Ethical, Educational, Religious* and *Philosophical* subjects; and it will be the constant aim to have the discussions such as to awaken life on the higher plane of being and to stimulate vigorous thinking—intellectual courage and moral heroism.

LITERARY FEATURES OF EXCEPTIONAL INTEREST.

I. THE POEMS OF EMERSON, interpreted by Charles Malloy, the greatest living authority on the poetry of Ralph Waldo Emerson. A series of twelve papers which, while embodying a luminous exposition of the philosophy of life as impearled in these wonderful poems, are also enlivened and enriched with numerous charming anecdotes and personal reminiscences relating to the life and writings of America's greatest ethical philosopher. These papers alone will be worth far more than the subscription price to the ARENA.

II. TWELVE SHORT STORIES BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE HEART OF OLD HICKORY." A most popular feature of the ARENA for next year will be twelve short stories, one appearing each month, by the most popular short story writer in the south and the greatest favorite among those who have contributed fiction to the pages of the ARENA. This new series of short stories, written expressly for this magazine by Miss Will Allen Dromgoole, when bound in book form will cost \$1.25, or exactly one-half the annual subscription to the ARENA.

III. **DISTINCTIVE AMERICAN AUTHORS AND THEIR WORKS.** A series of bright and entertaining pen pictures of the younger and most promising authors who are distinctly American, and who are in intimate and sympathetic touch with the larger life of the twentieth century.

IV. **BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES OF GREAT MEN AND WOMEN.** A strong feature will also be some critical biographical studies of the master spirits, who, in the realm of conscience and intellect, have left an indelible impress on the world. This series of papers was opened in our October issue by Rev. H. Heber Newton's masterly essay on Emerson the Man. The second paper of the series appears this month from the pen of one of our rising young Harvard men—Walter Leighton, A. M., and deals with the life of Henry D. Thoreau.

SOME NOTABLE SERIES OF POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PAPERS.

There are certain great reformatory or progressive measures that are urgently demanded to meet the changed conditions of the present, all of which are in perfect alignment with the underlying principles of democracy, which must be secured by the people at an early date if the republic is to be saved without the shock of force. Principal among these are (1) the optional initiative; (2) the referendum; (3) proportional representation; (4) public ownership and control of public utilities; (5) courts of conciliation, or peaceful adjustment of internal strife; (6) the election of United States Senators by direct vote; (7) the election of the judiciary by the people. The first two democratic reforms would at once deal a death blow to political corruption and restore the republic to the people, making it again a government of, for, and by the people, instead of a government of the corporations, for the enrichment of class interests by the exploitation of the people. The third would give the minority a voice in public councils—something vitally needed in a free state, for the advance guard is ever in the minority, and only by being accorded a fair hearing can the demands of progress be brought home to the consciousness of the masses.

I. **PERILS AND PROMISE OF THE PRESENT.** Presidential years are the most important periods in the general current of a republic's life, because they are characterized by universal political educational agitation. Then as at no other time the rank and file of the people become deeply interested in popular government and vital issues. The ARENA will publish several series of papers of special interest to all close students of current political history who appreciate the fact that we are in the midst of a political crisis of the gravest character. One essay of this series appears in this number—"Is the Republic Passing?" It will be followed by a striking contribution by Eltweed Pomeroy, A.M., President of the National Direct Legislation League,

on "The Failure of Representative Government," and an equally graphic and thought-stimulating discussion entitled, "The Republic in 1904," by William J. Hendrick, of the New York City bar. These papers will be typical of the discussions in this series. Some of the papers that are being prepared will, we believe, produce a profound impression on the conscience element throughout the republic.

II. CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. The opening paper of this series has been prepared expressly for the ARENA by R. H. Halstead, Secretary of the Coöperative Productive Federation of Great Britain and deals with the coöperative movement in Great Britain and Ireland from its inception to the present time. It will be followed by a very thoughtful paper on "Coöperation Among Western Farmers," prepared for the ARENA by the editor of the *Farmers' Advocate*, of Topeka, Kansas. Other papers dealing with co-operative movements in all parts of the world will make the ARENA invaluable to friends of this great advance movement on the line of "All for all," which is destined to become one of the most victorious altruistic and yet eminently practical revolutionary steps of the twentieth century.

III. THE JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT OF LABOR DISPUTES. A series of authoritative papers carefully prepared expressly for the ARENA by Prof. Frank Parsons, Ph.D., in which all the more notable recent achievements along this line in America, Europe and Australasia will be described.

IV. DIRECT LEGISLATION AND PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION. President Eltwed Pomeroy, A.M., will open our series of papers on Majority Rule, to be followed by other distinguished contributors and recognized authorities on this all-important measure. The subject of Proportional Representation will be luminously treated in a series of papers by Robert Tyson, long the editor of the *Proportional Representation Review*. One of the earliest of this series of papers will deal with the results of Proportional Representation in Belgium.

THE OTHER SIDE.

While we recognize the fact that predatory wealth and reactionary agencies have scores of liberally sustained magazines which monthly voice the plutocratic, imperialistic and reactionary thought, and while the ARENA stands for "All the world for all the people," or social, political and economic justice born of equality of opportunities and rights, we shall always be ready to give space to able discussions of the other side prepared by recognized authorities and defenders of the present capitalistic regime and reactionary views; for the cause of justice, freedom and equality has nothing whatever to fear from free discussion.

In a magazine like the ARENA it is obviously impossible to more than hint at the nature and character of papers which will constitute the majority of its essays. But below we give the titles of a few con-

tributions, which, in addition to the papers mentioned in the above prospectus, are awaiting publication. They are all carefully prepared, able and authoritative, yet are interesting and striking presentations of important subjects by careful and representative thinkers:

POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC.

The Supreme Economic Evil.	The Coming Exodus.
Industrial Pensions.	Has the 15th Amendment Been Justified?
The Failure of Representative Government.	Militarism at Home.
The Single Vote in Large Districts.	The Problem of Poverty.
The Problem of the Tramp.	Amos, a Prophet of Social Righteousness.

EDUCATIONAL, ETHICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL.

The Sane and Simple Life.	The Woman's Club Movement.
Progressive Methods in Education.	The Passing of the Home.
Music as a Moral Force.	The Heroines of Robert Burns.
The First Cause of Divorce.	The Philosophy of Mental Right Living.
Haeckel's Riddle of the Universe.	

EDITORIAL.

The "Topics of the Times" will continue to fearlessly expose iniquity and succinctly present the hopeful and encouraging signs of the times. Every effort possible will be made to strengthen this already popular department.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

Great pains will be taken to make this department invaluable to our thoughtful readers. The book studies which will appear from month to month will in many instance prove a digest of the thought which the volume contains; and the short reviews will be so written as to convey clearly to the reader the character of the contents and the method of presenting the same in the work noticed.

It will be our constant and determined effort to make the coming twelve months the red letter year in the history of the people's great liberal, progressive and reformatory review.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE THOUGHT SIDE OF THE SOCIAL ORDER:—This is the fourth paper of our series of distinctly fundamental discussions of present-day social and political subjects, of which Judge Samuel C. Parks' "Defense of the Declaration of Independence," President George McA. Miller's "The Bible versus Plutocracy," and Chief Justice Walter Clark's "Old Foes with New Faces" were the opening contributions. The superficial and artificial are the deadly foes of all that is healthy, virile and lastingly good. A civilization under the spell of superficiality and artificiality rapidly deteriorates. Progress and civilization, as well as justice and freedom wait on the recognition and acceptance of the basic ethical verities or underlying principles of moral order; and I know of no essay or single volume, for that matter, that so luminously and convincingly presents the true essential basis of enduring growth, happiness and progress as does Dr. Thomas's masterpiece, which appears in this number. Whether you read any other essay or not, we earnestly urge you to carefully peruse this remarkable contribution from the pen of one of the most distinguished divines in America. Dr. Thomas, as most of our readers well know, has for many years been the pastor of the People's Church of Chicago, and his place among the highest thinkers and most religious progressive clergymen is second to that of no other minister in the Christian church in the New World.

IS THE REPUBLIC PASSING?—This paper opens a series of discussions dealing with contemporaneous history and aiming to further arouse the consciousness of our people to a realization of the significance of recent happenings. Mr. Pomeroy's paper on "The Failure of Representative Government," which will probably be the second contribution in this series, will complement this paper. It deals chiefly with recent revelations of the corruption of government through corporate and plutocratic influence. Mr. Hendrick's paper on "The Republic in 1904" will further emphasize facts that every serious American should consider.

THE TARIFF ISSUE IN ENGLAND:—In Professor Maxey's very bright and timely paper we have a succinct discussion of the overshadowing political question in England, in which the imperialist and reactionary, Mr. Chamberlain, has dragged the Conservative party to the brink of the precipice over which it will be thrown in the next election unless we greatly misinterpret the trend of English public opinion.

THE RISING TIDE OF SOCIAL RIGHTEOUSNESS:—Prof. John Ward Stimson, the distinguished author of "The Gate Beautiful," while writing in an optimistic key of the slow but general advance of man, utters a timely warning which should, aye, and which must be heeded by our civilization if we are to escape a tragic cataclysm in the near future.

ART AND AMERICAN STUDENTS:—This is the second of our series of practical art papers whose primary object is to further the movement for a great original American art. Mr. Dabo is exceptionally well qualified to write on this subject, as he has studied in Paris and elsewhere, and has traveled widely over Europe. His outlook is broad, progressive, and breathes the spirit of a twentieth century scholar.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT BETWEEN MAN AND MONEY:—The Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Mount Vernon, New York, and general secretary of the New York State Conference of Religion, contributes a timely paper of exceptional value on one of the burning questions of the hour, the question upon which the very issue of democracy hinges—the master-ship of man or of money. Taking last winter's coal strike as an object lesson, this thoughtful clergyman presents the great issues involved in the struggle between capital and the laborer in a lucid and convincing manner.

HENRY D. THOREAU, ICONOCLAST, NATURE LOVER AND TRANSCENDENTAL PHILOSOPHER:—A special feature of the *ARENA* for the ensuing year will be a number of carefully prepared biographical sketches of eminent thinkers. This series was opened last month by Rev. R. Heber Newton, in a masterly paper on "Emerson, the Man." This month we publish the second paper of the series. It is from the pen of Walter Leighton, A.M., and deals with the life and thought of one of the most unique figures in American literature. The author possesses a pleasing style, is fair and judicial in spirit, and is also on the whole far more sympathetic than most present day writers who discuss nature lovers or transcendental philosophers: for our age is too largely given over to a mad craze for gold to properly appreciate the idealists who in all ages have borne aloft the Ark of the Covenant of Civilization.

REPLY TO MR. ADAMS' ATTACK ON PUBLIC OWNERSHIP:—We publish this month a brief but able reply to the recent attack made against public ownership by Mr. Charles Francis Adams. Mr. Adams' critic is one of the most careful and well-informed authorities on municipal ownership of public utilities in the English speaking world, a man who has made the most painstaking and exhaustive study of the whole question of public ownership of natural monopolies in Europe and America. Unlike Mr. Adams, his conclusions, therefore, are not based on superficial observation; furthermore, our contributor's judgment is in no way biased by his being financially interested in any public service corporations.

The net earnings of the Boston Elevated R. R. Company last year ran up into the millions, and it is safe to say that the stockholders who are realizing such princely revenue through our immensely valuable street franchises will with one accord shout Amen to Mr. Adams' wild and absurd statements. The city of Liverpool, on the other hand, has during the same period saved an enormous sum to the municipality while greatly improving its service, through public ownership. It is

not strange, therefore, that the electorate share the views of our contributor. During next year the ARENA will in so far as space permits present replies from reliable authorities to the numerous glaringly false or misleading statements constantly being put forth by beneficiaries of Public Service Corporations or their hired agents.

THE ABSENCE OF WOMAN IN LITERATURE:—The title of Alma A. Rogers' very able paper may impress many readers as strange before they understand that the author refers to the great masterpieces of permanent literature. The subject is an intensely interesting theme, and in the hands of Mrs. Rogers it receives that broad philosophical and logical treatment that so important a subject merits.

PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

In assuming the business management of the Alliance Publishing Company, and of its two magazines *THE ARENA* and *MIND*, it may be well to say a few words regarding some changes of policy and methods which have already been, or will be adopted.

Beginning with the present issues, both magazines appear in covers of new design, in which strength and simplicity are combined, in which their distinctive characteristics are more clearly defined, and which can be more readily seen when exposed for sale upon the news-stands. Some other typographical improvements have also been made; but that the issues of the present volumes might be uniform, certain contemplated changes in size and typography have been postponed until the new volumes begin.

The present volume of *MIND* (Vol. XII) will be continued until the end of the present year—thus making nine numbers in it instead of six as in the previous volumes. This will enable us to start the New Year with new volumes of both magazines, and to make them uniform in size and appearance. To effect this, the number of pages in *MIND* will be increased from eighty to one hundred and twelve in each issue; and the price will be raised from twenty to twenty-five cents a copy, and from two dollars to two dollars and a half for yearly subscriptions. The size of the pages will also be slightly enlarged. Certain other typographical changes are being planned, which will, we hope, greatly improve the appearance of both magazines, and make them as attractive, typographically, as our Editors make them from a literary standpoint.

* * *

Our advertising columns will also receive careful supervision, and all objectionable advertising will be excluded. Efforts will be made to improve the typography and general

appearance of these pages, as well; and those advertisers who favor us with their announcements will find themselves in the best of company, only. (Our new advertising rate-cards are now ready, and can be had upon application.)

* * *

Some complaints have just reached us that THE ARENA cannot always be procured upon the news-stands. This matter has received prompt attention, and arrangements have been made whereby THE ARENA and MIND can always be obtained on the stands, in the future; but the best way to be sure of obtaining the magazines regularly, is to hand your subscriptions to your newsdealer (or send them to us direct) and thus avoid the trouble of buying copies every month. (Subscriptions to MIND will be taken at the rate of Two Dollars per annum until Dec. 31st; after that date Two Dollars and Fifty Cents. Subscriptions to THE ARENA are Two Dollars and Fifty Cents, yearly.)

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That THE ARENA and MIND, during the coming year, will reach the highest point in general literary excellence which has yet been attained, is assured by the plans already perfected by the Editors; and, with the hearty support of our Contributors and of our Readers, the magazines will undoubtedly continue to grow in interest and power as the two great leaders of the THOUGHT of the XXTH CENTURY.

I take up the practical business management of their publication with enthusiasm, determined that they shall have as large and wide a circulation throughout the World as they deserve.

CHARLES A. MONTGOMERY.

New York, Oct. 10, 1903.